REPORT RESUMES

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A SEMINAR ON THE ROLE OF THE ARTS IN MEETING THE SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL NEEDS OF THE DISADVANTAGED.

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BROOKLYN MUSEUM, N. Y.

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A 4-DAY SEMINAR WAS ORGANIZED AROUND SEVEN PAPERS WHICH PROVIDED A BASIS FOR DISCUSSION FROM MANY POINTS OF VIEW. THE PARTICIPANTS WERE THOSE INVOLVED IN WORK IN THE ARTS WITH THE DISADVANTAGED IN VARIOUS AREAS, AS WELL AS A PSYCHOLOGIST, A SOCIOLOGIST, AN ANTHROPOLOGIST, A RESEARCH SPECIALIST IN ART EDUCATION, AND REPRESENTATIVES OF STATE AND CITY EDUCATION DEPARTMENTS. THE DISCUSSIONS CENTERED AROUND THE THEORETICAL EVIDENCE AND THE DEMONSTRATION PROGRAMS WHICH WERE PRESENTED BY THE PEOPLE INVOLVED IN THEM. THE PROGRAMS COVERED A WIDE RANGE, FROM THEATER PRESENTATIONS AND CONCERTS WHICH TRAVEL INTO A NEIGHBORHOOD AND PROGRAMS IN INFORMAL CENTERS TO THOSE IN SPECIAL SCHOOLS. EXAMPLES WERE CITED TO DEMONSTRATE THAT THE ARTS CAN PROVIDE THE FIRST EXPERIENCE OF POSITIVE ACCOMPLISHMENT AMONG THE DISADVANTAGED, AND FROM THIS CAN DEVELOP A SENSE OF PERSONAL PRIDE LEADING TO OTHER ACCOMPLISHMENTS. EMPHASIS WAS ON THE FUNCTIONAL USE OF THE ARTS TO ENABLE THE CREATIVITY IN EACH PERSON TO REACH ITS FULLEST POTENTIAL. ON THE CONCLUDING DAY, A PANEL DISCUSSED THE FEDERAL RESOURCES FOR SUPPORT OF THE ARTS. (TC)

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A SEMINAR ON THE ROLE OF THE ARTS IN MEETING THE SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL NEEDS OF THE DISADVANTAGED

April 1967

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Project No. 7-0254
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HANNA TOBY ROSE
Principal Investigator

BROOKLYN MUSEUM

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A shorter, narrative report of this Seminar tentatively titled "The Arts and the Poor: A New Challenge for Education" is being written by Judith Murphy and Ronald Gross of the Academy for Educational Development. This will be published by the G. P. O. and will be available from the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C., probably in the summer of 1967. Inquiries regarding availability of the report and cost should be addressed to the Director of the Arts and Humanities Program, U. S. Office of Education, Washington, D. C. 20202.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The success of such a seminar as this depends finally on the interest and devotion of those who participated. I am deeply indebted to each one who was present not only for his contributions to the proceedings but also for unfailing good humor during the four days.

Dr. William Birenbaum accepted the difficult task of chairman for the seven sessions involving the presentation of papers and the discussion following each. His skill in keeping the discussion to the point was most helpful.

We were all grateful to Joan Williams and Peter Masters of the Office of Public Affairs of the Office of Economic Opportunity who organized and installed the Job Corps Art Exhibit.

I am indebted to Judith Murphy and Ronald Gross of the Academy for Educational Development for their editorial work. Without their assistance this report would not have been possible.

Above all my thanks are due Junius Eddy of the Arts and Humanities Program of the Office of Education who offered guidance and invaluable advice and assistance every step of the way.

Hanna T. Rose
Principal Investigator

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

INTRODUCTION 1

METHOD 2

KEYNOTE ADDRESS:
The Honorable William S. Moorhead 4

"Reaching the Disadvantaged Learner Through the Arts" Kathryn Bloom 11

"The Arts as Agents of Social Change: A Psychologist's Viewpoint" - Melvin Roman - Excerpts from the Discussion with Mr. Roman 21

"The Arts in Neighborhood Life" - Francis Bosworth Excerpts from the Discussion with Mr. Bosworth 41

"Educational Research and the Arts" - Elliot W. Eisner Excerpts from the Discussion with Mr. Eisner 56

"Using the Arts in Low-Income Areas" - Julian T. Euell Excerpts from the Discussion with Mr. Euell 79

"The Arts as Agents for Social Change: An Anthropologist's Viewpoint" - Francis A. J. Ianni - Excerpts from the Discussion with Mr. Ianni 102

"The Application of Educational Technology to Education of the Disadvantaged" - R. Louis Bright - Excerpts from the Discussion with Mr. Bright 122

"Learning Stimulation" - Harold L. Cohen Excerpts from the Discussion with Mr. Cohen 135

* * *

THE CONFERENCE PROCEEDS: MIDWAY EVALUATION AND WORK GROUPS 165

Page

PANEL DISCUSSION WITH INDIVIDUAL ARTISTS - Dorothy Maynor, Budd Schulberg, Lloyd New Kiva 167

PANEL ON FEDERAL RESOURCES - Harold Howe II, Roger Stevens, Barnaby Keeney, and Phillip Schrager
  Excerpts from the Discussion with Mr. Howe, Mr. Stevens, Mr. Keeney, and Mr. Schrager 199

RECOMMENDATIONS; WORK-GROUP CHAIRMEN'S REPORTS 233

FINAL EVALUATION - Melvin Tumin 251

SUMMARY 283

APPENDIXES

REPORTS ON CURRENT PROJECTS A-1

PROGRAM B-1

PARTICIPANTS C-1

REPRESENTATIVES OF GOVERNMENT AGENCIES D-1

OBSERVERS E-1

INTRODUCTION

In recent years there has been a tremendous increase of activity and interest in the entire field of the arts and also a new awareness of the poor and disadvantaged in the midst of an affluent society. These two developments are having an enormous impact on our educational process but they have, for the most part, been largely separate in their influences. There is, however, a growing body of evidence which suggests that the arts may have a vital function to perform in the field of education. This function may offer us a most important key for reaching, motivating and teaching the disadvantaged child and adult. In fact, the function of the arts may well be a precondition of the most fundamental kinds of learning needs for all children. Although this has been the strong belief of many artists and of the best art educators, there has been little literature and little basic research in this area. Discussions with the specialists in the Arts and Humanities Branch of the United States Office of Education and the Office of Economic Opportunity led to the conviction that a developmental meeting was essential.

The objectives of the meeting were to draw upon the experiences of people involved in the many areas of the arts and education and upon the theoretical evidence in order to isolate the kinds of motivation which the arts can provide; to examine on-going programs in this area; to suggest other programs as demonstrations or models; to recommend needed research; to find ways of disseminating this information to reach those who are responsible for education curricula and planning. It was hoped this conference would focus national attention on the role arts experiences can play in the educational phase of the War on Poverty and, ultimately, in relation to the learning process of all children.

METHOD

In planning such a developmental seminar, it was considered important that all of the arts be represented and that as far as was possible invited participants represent those working with different groups of the disadvantaged and not only with the urban Negro. Thus individuals who were involved in work with the American Indians, the Spanish Americans, the poor whites and in rural as well as urban areas were invited. A psychologist-artist, a sociologist and representatives of art education departments, city and state school systems who were also involved in work in these areas were included among the participants. And finally we included specialists in the field of research in art education.

The Agenda for the four day conference was planned around seven commissioned papers which are reprinted in full in the following pages. Following each presentation there was extensive and lively discussion by all participants. Following the two days devoted to these papers and discussions the thirty-four participants were divided into two work groups who were charged with the task of considering various areas of concern in depth and in formulating recommendations for action. To help in focusing attention during the work group sessions five major topic questions were prepared:

1. In what ways can we use the arts to improve the learning process generally?
2. What do we need to know about the use of the arts in meeting the needs of the disadvantaged learner which research can help us determine? What kinds of research are needed? What are the limitations, if any, on what we can learn from research in this field?
3. How can we identify the best of the on-going programs (inside or out of the schools) and make the experience gained from a variety of models available nationally? What new programs may need to be developed and mounted?

4. How can we best disseminate our findings and stimulate the kinds of research and demonstration activities which can produce worthwhile educational change?

5. What are the resources available to us and how should they be allocated to the different tasks involved?

In addition to these discussions, evening sessions were planned which provided an opportunity for discussion of specific on-going programs. Three reports were presented each evening by the person actually involved in the work and these were followed by questions and discussion. The programs ranged from those such as theatre presentations or concerts which travel into a district or neighborhood and programs in informal centers, to those included in the curriculum of special schools. Brief reports of these programs are included in the Appendix.

Of special significance to this investigation was a panel of three artists who are, at present, working in as many disadvantaged areas; one in the field of music with children in Harlem, New York; one with American Indian youth using the arts of their heritage; and the third in the field of creative writing with older boys (school drop-outs) and adults in Watts, Los Angeles.

An exhibition of art work produced in several Job Corps camps and centers added a special note to the atmosphere and the discussions. It was of intense interest to the participants to read the statements by the teenage boys and girls who produced the work, most of whom were not planning to make their living in the arts.

The commissioned papers, the edited discussions following each paper and the final work group reports which follow will point up the areas of concern and the recommendations which resulted after four days of intensive meetings.

KEYNOTE ADDRESS: EQUAL OPPORTUNITY FOR EQUAL EDUCATION AND EQUAL EDUCATION FOR EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

THE HONORABLE WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD
Congressman from Pennsylvania

I commend you for undertaking a fresh look at a way to solve America's most pressing -- and most difficult -- domestic problem.

The social, economic, and educational poverty of America's poor -- and most especially those of minority groups -- is this nation's most pressing and most difficult domestic problem.

For 200 years we have practiced systematic discrimination against Negroes in virtually every level of life, denying them equal opportunity with members of the white majority.

In recent years we have adopted as national policy the belief that in America there should be equal opportunity for all citizens regardless of race or color or creed.

However, we have found that equality of opportunity is not enough. U. S. Civil Service examinations, for example, are given and graded without regard to race, religion, or background. But if two young men take the test for the same job, the one who comes from an educated family and has been to a good suburban high school is almost certain to outscore the one whose family is uneducated and whose only schooling has been in slum schools.

To correct this situation some have argued for compensatory opportunity -- a kind of reverse discrimination. I doubt that this is good philosophically and I am sure that it is bad politically.

There must, however, be a solution and I believe the politically acceptable solution is compensatory education so as to achieve the reality of equality of opportunity. Ultimately our goal should be equal education for equal opportunity.

Certainly, that is the fundamental principle behind the war on poverty.

We have discovered that the single most powerful weapon in the war against poverty is education -- education at all levels, from Project Head Start for the pre-kindergarten child, to the Neighborhood Youth Corps for the high school dropout, to the manpower retraining program for the aging unskilled worker.

Education, we have learned, can break the cycle of poverty. We have made a start.

But it has not been enough. We have watched Headstarters enter kindergarten, then first grade, and stumble, falter, and fall back, even to perform at lower levels than those without Head Start training. Why? Because the slum schools they were attending had inadequate teachers, teaching materials, and space, and courses so boring, so banal, that the eager Head Start graduates lapsed into boredom and withdrawal.

What these Head Start children, and their peers without such training, really need is not just "equal opportunity for education," but education adequate to give them true equality of opportunity. In the United States we see just the reverse.

Choose any city, and go first to an elementary school on its suburban fringes. You'll find bright-eyed, well-scrubbed, well-fed children in bright, well-lighted modern classrooms, being taught by a competent middle-class teacher from a wealth of books written by middle-class educators for middle-class children who have been prepared for school in an educated family.

Go next to an elementary school in the heart of the city's hard-core slum where you'll find ill-clad, hungry children in the custody of a teacher either poorly trained for her task or frustrated in it by lack of proper teaching materials, cramped classrooms, oversize classes and -- perhaps most importantly -- any knowledge of how to reach children hopelessly ill-equipped for the great American middle-class education.

There's nothing wrong with the suburban elementary school. The children will get as good an education as they're capable of absorbing because the curriculum is geared to their backgrounds.

There is something wrong with the slum school, and not even Head Start's massive injection of middle-class bias into its students can cure it.

How can you teach the alphabet from a standard ABC book when three-quarters of the children have never seen or tasted A for Apple or O for Orange, have never heard of Z for Zebra of E for Elephant? How can you excite children whose curiosity at home has been rewarded with a vicious slap or a shouted "Shut up!"? In our slum areas the basic premise of our educational system -- that a significant part of each child's education takes place at home -- just doesn't exist.

If "equal opportunity for equal education" is to be made a reality, this central question must be answered: Given the unfortunate background most disadvantaged children bring to school, how can they be excited, stimulated, motivated, and made to interact socially with other people?

How do you teach a child who is not verbally oriented?

It seems to me that this is the basic question you are asking yourselves at this conference: How do you teach, how do you stimulate, how do you inspire a child who is not verbally oriented?

You are here to explore an exciting possible answer to this question -- the arts.

Primitive societies are not verbally oriented and yet most societies have created their own art of music and dance. Cro-Magnon men may not have been verbally oriented, but they created beautiful pictures on the walls of the Lascaux caves. The earliest manner of written communication took the form of picture words, or hieroglyphics. The earliest form of literature was created by the storyteller or ballad singer, whose stories or ballads were sometimes portrayed by actors so that those who could not fully comprehend by words alone could begin to understand from a dramatic presentation.

From the dawn of civilization, the creative and performing arts have had a long history of association with the process of education.

What you are seeking to do here today is to unite in a modern setting these familiar partners of education.

In most school curricula, the arts are assigned a secondary, or supplementary position, and are frequently lumped with other courses designed for "enrichment." This is a reflection of certain generalizations made about the arts and humanities.

One frequent generalization is that these fields of knowledge do not usually offer a direct route to a vocation or profession, although skill and interest in them may enhance vocational opportunities. This generalization fails to recognize the value of the arts for all men regardless of their abilities, interests, or means of livelihood. The arts are valuable precisely because they are focused upon universal qualities rather than upon specific and measurable ends.

This conference is an exciting departure from the usual approach to improving education. Both educators and the general public are tempted to think that the only way to improve education is to offer new courses of study. Too often such efforts result only in a rearrangement of the same material and not in any new knowledge or understanding. We are seeking a new educational approach, a new tool to stimulate a sense of excitement about learning, a sense of identity with individuals and the world.

The danger in seeking a new approach to the use of the arts as a teaching tool is over-simplifying the problem. There can be no single curriculum in the arts, because needs vary from school to school and even from child to child. What we must attempt to do is find out how the arts can best be used as an educational tool, then leave the individual selection of material and emphasis to each school.

You in this conference have the experience and the ability to determine how the arts can be used to spur education. I would like to emphasize the importance of communicating your discoveries. If the improvements in using arts as teaching tools are to reach more than a scattering of schools, new materials must be written, new visual and auditory presentations must be developed, teachers and administrators must be introduced to them, and centers must be set up to demonstrate improved practice.

Four other considerations occur to me for a re-study of the arts as a teaching tool.

First, the over-riding concept in using arts as a means of reaching the disadvantaged should be selection, as opposed to coverage. Our schools have become so obsessed with covering everything in a given field that they frequently run the danger of doing nothing well. For a disadvantaged child, broad coverage of content at the cost of understanding and insight can increase, not diminish, his sense of alienation from other individuals and the world. One child may respond to music and another to the visual arts.

If arts are to be an effective teaching tool, the curriculum planners must discriminate between the trivial and the significant and use the significant, whether it be rhythm in music or color in a painting, to magnify the student's commitment to learning, and more basically, to life itself. As a corollary to this idea, teachers should be prepared to teach the students to expand and continue their understanding independently.

Thus, the function of the school in using arts as a teaching tool is to use well-chosen materials and ideas, appropriate to the student's interest and capability, to involve his attention so closely that the skills and perceptions he thereby acquires remain with him through the remainder of his education and through his life.

Second, attempts should be made to relate the stimuli of the arts to the student's other subjects in school and to the individuals learning with him. This approach is now saved for interdisciplinary courses in the late high school years or for "general education courses" required in many colleges. But students can and should be made aware of the common denominators in the arts -- color, rhythm, and tone are common to a broad variety of the visual and performing arts.

Third, an orderly sequence in instruction should be insisted on, so that every young person, according to his ability, is continually introduced to new concepts which expand the meaning and significance of all he has learned before. Gaps that cause an area of study to become a scattering of islands rather than a continent of meaning and experience must be avoided, and the pace of learning must be continually adjusted to the developing maturity of the students so that experiences in art or music, for example, do not become repetitive and boring.

Fourth, as the education process continues, we can begin to verbalize some of the concepts which were initially communicated through the arts. This is essential because all men require that a vision be held before them, an ideal toward which they may strive. Americans need a vision today as never before in their history. The arts and the humanities offer whatever understanding can be attained by fallible humanity of such enduring values as justice, freedom, virtue, beauty, and truth.

To the frequent charge that the arts and humanities are impractical and that they must give way in our schools to narrow concern with those studies which seem more immediately connected with economic opportunity for the individual, I would assert that the arts and humanities play a uniquely effective role in determining a man's behavior and values. Included in the arts and humanities are those studies that help man to find a purpose, that endow him with the ability to criticize intelligently and therefore to improve his own society, and that establish for the individual his sense of identity with other men both in his own country and the world at large.

Without a more widespread understanding of their value, the efforts now under way are unlikely to remedy the problems we see confronting the schools. Lack of properly educated teachers, lack of space, time, and teaching materials, and lack of understanding of the way the arts and humanities operate in stimulating the individual are the chief difficulties we face.

The schools require more than just the example of a few islands of excellence if they are to achieve needed progress in the next ten or fifteen years. They require the massive support which can come in our huge country only through the interest of national agencies with the resources and the leadership to work in all the areas of the arts and humanities, in all areas of the country, and at all levels of elementary and secondary education.

We have two such agencies -- the Foundation on the Arts and Humanities, and the U. S. Office of Education. The Foundation's Endowments are free from control by any one group, they have the flexibility to assist both individuals and organizations, they can encourage the development of new approaches by communicating the arts and humanities to all our citizens. The Office of Education has enormous financial and policy leverage, and a driving commitment to give all our citizens an equal opportunity for an equal education. It seems logical to me that these two agencies should join forces in bringing the arts and humanities to bear on the social and educational needs of the disadvantaged.

These agencies are uniquely situated to seek not only an equal opportunity for equal education for all Americans, but also equal education so that all Americans will have equal opportunity.

I earnestly hope that these agencies and this Conference succeed in developing ways of using the arts as primal tools for stimulating and motivating our disadvantaged children in their educational and social lives. If they succeed they will have done more than their share in fulfilling one of the goals President Johnson set for the Great Society:

> "The finding of new ways to stimulate the love of learning and the capacity for creation."

* * *

REACHING THE DISADVANTAGED LEARNER THROUGH THE ARTS

KATHRYN BLOOM
Director, Arts and Humanities Program
U. S. Office of Education

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Tonight we begin four days of intensive and purposeful discussion dealing with a concept about education which most of us believe to be of immense significance for the entire spectrum of teaching and learning. Stated in its broadest terms, this concept assumes that the creative process involved in the visual and performing arts can be utilized as a basic tool in the entire educational process.

This certainly is not a new idea. As a matter of fact, evidence of its educational relevance and worth has been provided time and again in recent years; yet curiously enough, it is a concept which educators have generally failed to respond to or to examine in any serious, systematic manner.

Our purpose here during the next several days will be to take this basic assumption several steps further. Our thinking will be directed toward the practical possibilities for bringing the full potentials of the creative arts to bear directly on one of the nation's most crucial and challenging problem areas: the education of the disadvantaged. This means that for the most part we shall be dealing here with the arts in a distinctly functional and utilitarian sense.

Now -- you have come here to participate in what we refer to as a developmental conference, supported by a research grant to the Brooklyn Museum from the Arts and Humanities Program of the U. S. Office of Education. So that you will understand more fully what we are attempting to accomplish by supporting this conference, I would like to take a few minutes to explain something about the work of the Arts and Humanities Program, as a research arm of the Office of Education, and how developmental activities such as this fit within the broader scope of our program activities.

As many of you know, the Office of Education has a long-standing interest in the field of the arts and humanities. The conviction that the arts were an increasingly important, though long-neglected, aspect of our educational system, and that services in this area should be strengthened, resulted in the establishment of what was called the Cultural Affairs Branch in August of 1962.

I shall not attempt to lead you through the various steps in the subsequent development of this program within the structure of the Office of Education. Suffice it to say that, by the summer of 1965, when the Office of Education was organized into its present structure, the major activities relating to the arts in education became known officially as the Arts and Humanities Program and were located in the Office of the Associate Commissioner of the newly-formed Bureau of Research.

This move reflected, among other things, the fact that two years ago funds were allocated for the first time specifically for the support of research in the arts and humanities from the Cooperative Research Act. By that time, specialists in music and art education, theater and dance, museum education, and the humanities had been added to the staff and the program had been provided with increased responsibilities.

These developments coincided with the passage of a unique series of legislative acts on several related fronts which had their culmination over the summer of 1965. A number of education bills were enacted into law with specific provisions which could provide support for the arts and humanities. And, on September 29, 1965, the President signed Public Law 89-209 which established the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities. This, as you know, sets up a Federal Council on the Arts and Humanities, consisting of twin endowments -- the National Endowment for the Arts and the National Endowment for the Humanities -- each of which has its own National Council as an advisory body.

In view of the attention which was focused nationally on the arts and humanities at the Federal level, and in view of the complementary relationships which had been established with individuals and groups affected by this legislation, it was considered advisable to create a position which could represent the Commissioner of Education in arts planning and organizational matters on an interagency level, as well as within the Office of Education itself. This concern resulted in my appointment as Special Advisor on the Arts and Humanities by the Commissioner during that same summer, 1965.

So much for the developments which have brought the arts and humanities to their present degree of emphasis in the Office of Education. Let me now become more specific about our purposes and methods.

We conceive the purpose of the Arts and Humanities Program to be essentially this: to develop programs and activities designed to promote extension and improvement of education in the arts and humanities at all educational levels. Primarily, of course, attention is given to the arts and humanities within the formal school system -- but, at the same time, we have sought to promote the fullest utilization possible of informal educational programs, such as those offered by the community arts, music, theatre, and dance groups, and education programs conducted by museums, cultural centers, arts councils, neighborhood houses, and local agencies of the poverty program.

A primary means for utilizing Federal resources to improve education in the arts and humanities was the planned use of invited developmental activities. By developmental activities we mean simply activities which are stimulatory in nature: which focus attention nationally on some of the most urgent problems we face, and are a means for generating action to effect educational change.

During a three-year period, twenty-four planning conferences and status studies have received support in the amount of nearly one million dollars. These activities have been carried on in art education, classical studies, crafts, dance, film study, museum education, music education, speech, and theatre education.

The pattern which has been used in this developmental program has been, first, to bring together a highly knowledgeable and articulate group of people to make recommendations about the "state of the art" in a particular field of education. Such a group might include curriculum specialists and educational theoreticians, psychologists and sociologists, administrators, critics and historians, together with arts practitioners such as musicians, artists, dancers, actors, and theatre directors.

Secondly, activities which involve extensive background work are combined with dissemination conferences to develop guidelines for needed research and curriculum improvement.

Third, surveys are made of innovative projects and programs which can provide models for the field as a whole, or which contain the seeds for new approaches that can change or improve education generally.

In addition, several developmental activities have been directed toward needs peculiar to a specific field. Examples include a project exploring the question of the relationship of academic and professional theatre in the training of actors; and a survey of practices which are particularly successful in presenting musical concerts of professional quality for school age children. This project, incidentally, will be significant not only in general educational terms, but in raising standards for Title III (ESEA) projects involving the arts.

These developmental activities have resulted in statements and recommendations of major significance regarding the status of the fields involved, and of the steps which need to be taken to generate effective educational improvement in them. Broadly disseminated, these statements and recommendations have received national attention at all educational levels, and their impact has been felt both within the educational enterprise itself and in informal educational programs being conducted outside of the school environment.

Conducted in this manner, these developmental activities provide assurance that the program goals which are delineated and the priorities which are established to meet those goals represent a consensus of the best thinking available. At the same time, they have produced an increasingly informed and energetic constituency which is using all the available resources in an imaginative and effective manner to meet specific educational problems. Finally, they have served to stimulate a large number of new proposals in a variety of fields.

Perhaps the most striking example of this is the Yale Seminar on Music Education which, in 1963, brought together in an extended working session leading representatives of the many areas which comprise the field of music. The report of this conference, Music in Our Schools: Search for Improvement, published by the Office of Education and made widely available, resulted in some twenty new proposals of genuine merit related to the improvement of instruction in music. Of major significance among them are The Juilliard Repertory Project and the project sponsored by the Music Educators National Conference on the uses of educational media in the teaching of music.

Without reference to specific disciplines in the arts and humanities fields, I might indicate to you some of the program areas which seem to us to hold productive possibilities for future investigation, either through specific research projects or as a result of developmental activities. They include, and not necessarily in order of priority, the following areas:

* Basic research into the nature of perceptual learning;

* Curriculum development and improvement, with emphasis on training of the talented in the arts as well as on ways in which the arts can be taught most effectively in general education at all levels. This would encompass sequential curriculums in the arts, as well as efforts being made to develop interdisciplinary approaches, or to enrich other subject areas such as history and literature;

* Projects designed to strengthen the effectiveness of state departments of education in the arts and humanities fields;

* Teacher training projects -- including retraining, and with emphasis on in-service courses;

* Training for administrative occupations in the arts -- a crucial need, as many of you are aware, I am sure;

* Training effective educational researchers in the arts and humanities fields -- another crucial area of need, and one which is critical to any substantial expansion of research efforts in these areas; in fact, it may well be one of

the questions which absorbs us seriously in our own deliberations these next few days;

* Projects carried on jointly with other agencies, such as the Educational Laboratory Theatre project, supported jointly by the National Endowment for the Arts and the Office of Education;

* And finally, the critical program area that is of immediate concern to all of us here this evening -- that concerned with ways in which the resources provided by the arts, and by arts-related experiences, can be utilized to meet the urgent needs of the disadvantaged.

The Arts and Humanities Program has, from time to time during the last several years, provided support for perhaps half a dozen research projects aimed at exploring isolated aspects of this broad program area. Some of these are still in process; others have now been completed; in either case, you will be hearing more about them, because several of the project investigators are among the participants invited to this conference.

It is apparent to us that this is a subject which is beginning to engage the attention of an increasing number of people on a variety of educational fronts throughout the country. Your presence here tonight attests to that -- and I might add that, as planning for this conference has become known, there has been an extraordinary number of inquiries about it, and far more requests to participate in it than could possibly be accommodated.

These expressions of interest and concern, however, merely tend to emphasize the obvious central fact: that we have only begun to explore the full dimensions of the concept from a research and development point of view. There is as yet very little hard knowledge about the subject area generally, and the prevailing convictions about the role of the arts in meeting the educational needs of disadvantaged children are still largely hypothetical: we have little in the way of direct evidence to support them.

Certainly, there are striking instances in which breakthroughs have occurred, sometimes stemming from creative approaches on the part of individual teachers and administrators, or as a result of special arts programs developed by various organizations, agencies, and institutions outside the schools.

But these instances have seldom been accompanied by anything more than superficial evaluations, often of a subjective and observational nature. We know that something has worked in a certain instance -- that positive changes in attitude and behavior have taken place, that motivation for learning in other academic subject areas has been improved, that concepts of individual identity have been strengthened, that (in the vernacular) disadvantaged children have been "turned on" by their involvement in arts experiences -- all this we know. What we don't know with any degree of certainty is how it worked in these instances, nor precisely why it worked. And, lacking this knowledge, we have little to guide us in using the process in other situations.

What I am saying, I think, is that we have yet to provide the kind of direct evidence we need to convince the educational establishment generally (administrators, supervisors, and teachers) that the process really works -- that, indeed, you can reach children when you use the arts as a lubricant in the learning process.

For example, it is now quite evident that many of the learning problems of disadvantaged children are associated with the acquisition of verbal skills. The vast number of school systems which utilized Title I (ESEA) funds this past year to establish programs in remedial reading attests to the crucial nature of this problem. Since communication in virtually all of the arts can take place on a non-verbal level, these remedial reading projects could have provided an ideal setting in which to test the use of non-verbal experiences in the arts to break through the language barriers which have obviously blocked the development of reading skills in the disadvantaged child. A tentative assessment reveals, however, that very little was done to explore these possibilities in a systematic manner.

For all of these reasons, it has seemed to us essential that the Arts and Humanities Program place increasing emphasis on this broad problem area, with a view toward stimulating the development of new research projects that may provide us with the answers we so urgently need. To assist in carrying out this program systematically, Junius Eddy was appointed as a consultant to the Arts and Humanities staff earlier this year. Mr. Eddy has had broad experience in virtually all of the fields bearing on this problem, including service as a school-board member, as an administrator of statewide arts programs, as a director of theatre projects at Karamu House (the interracial cultural arts center in Cleveland), and as a staff member of a national citizens organization concerned with problems of the public schools.

As a first step in the development of this new program area, the proposal which has enabled us to hold this developmental conference was invited from the Brooklyn Museum with Miss Hanna Rose (known to most of us as Toby) undertaking the organizational assignment as principal investigator. As Education Curator of the Brooklyn Museum, Toby Rose has been instrumental in developing the many outstanding educational programs which have brought thousands of young people and adults in the Bedford-Stuyvesant area of Brooklyn into direct, personal involvement with the museum for many years.

Now that you are here, and the conference has officially begun, what do we hope it will accomplish? Broadly speaking, we confidently expect that, from this conference, will come the information, ideas, suggestions, and recommendations that are essential for the development of a coordinated and comprehensive program of research and demonstration in this field. Further, we believe that your participation in these discussions can help us to identify accurately what the current "state of the art" actually is in this field of investigation, and to assess the full dimensions of the research areas involved, including what appear to be the major unanswered questions.

Using as guidelines the suggestions and recommendations you will be evolving these next few days, we hope it will be possible to undertake a systematic analysis of existing projects and programs (including many established under Title I or Title III of ESEA) which seem to hold the best promise for significant outcomes. One purpose in this analysis would be to determine whether or not any of the ongoing projects in the arts are immediately susceptible to productive new research.

Thus it may be advantageous to establish research plans of considerable depth and scope in connection with outstanding projects already under way, provided they seem to be attacking the questions you consider relevant. At the same time, it is also possible that a number of entirely new research projects will need to be directed toward fundamental problems which have not previously been explored, or which are not susceptible to productive research through existing programs and projects.

Ultimately, of course, it may be desirable to establish major demonstration projects -- presumably in cooperation with other governmental agencies or with other Office of Education programs -- which would test the most significant research findings in model programs. Provided their value to the educational process can be adequately demonstrated, these high-visibility demonstration programs could become key factors in the development of significant educational change.

In conclusion, I would be remiss if I did not point out that we have no preconceived approach to this problem. The possible outcomes I have suggested are not foregone conclusions; if they were, we would not have sought your advice and counsel over a four-day period.

It is also possible that we may have attempted too much by subjecting the program area to such a broad, general examination. Perhaps, instead of focusing our attention on all the arts and on all levels of the educational system, you may conclude that we need, first, to consider particular areas of the arts, or that each art form must be assessed in relation to a particular educational level, or to a particular problem related to the education of disadvantaged children. If this seems to hold greater promise in attaining stated objectives, we would welcome your suggestions for the development of a more particularized approach to the problem.

And, finally, assuming that you do reach some degree of consensus about the validity of further program developments in this area, we hope that you will give some attention to the methods of disseminating information about it which are most likely to generate a positive response from the field. We are not interested in discussion simply for discussion's sake; we are looking for positive outcomes which can lead directly to valid educational change in the shortest time possible, consistent with sound planning and sound research practice.

With this in mind, I conclude with the obvious statement that the conference now belongs to you. All of us in the Arts and Humanities Program -- indeed throughout the Office of Education -- will follow your deliberations with profound interest, and with deep appreciation for your efforts and assistance. Thank you.

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THE ARTS AS AGENTS OF SOCIAL CHANGE: A PSYCHOLOGIST'S VIEWPOINT

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There are two familiar jokes, both deeply embedded in American folklore, having to do with being lost. In the first, a motorist asks a Yankee farmer the way to Bangor. The farmer sucks his pipe, scratches his beard, and finally after abortive attempts at directions, shakes his head and drawls, "You can't get there from here." The second is the southern regional variant of the first, in which the motorist asks a small Negro boy the route to several cities. The boy knows none of them. Finally the exasperated motorist bursts out: "You're pretty stupid, aren't you?" The reply is: "Well, mister -- I ain't lost."

Both stories obviously arose out of tensions between city and country. I am proposing that they are applicable to the tensions and bafflements that now exist between the inner city and the rest of us -- between the static and stylized life of the ghetto and the highly mobile society that encloses it. We, the outsiders, may not know where we're going, but we're going. In the ghetto, on the other hand, one knows where one is.

Beyond that, there is a quality of "lostness" and alienation in our hustling, status-conscious, affluent middle class (by which I simply mean the great majority of us), which is sometimes accompanied by a wistful hope, rarely articulated, that the poor, who possess nothing else, may hold the secret to the meaning of life. This hope, or wish, has led many to try to find their way in the ghetto with results that have seldom been more satisfactory, I fear, than the tag lines of the jokes.

I am not speaking here of middle-class beats, addicts, so-called white Negroes, or any whose strongest need is to lose, rather than find, themselves in the ghetto. Rather I am speaking of professionals in the human services, most of whom are motivated by sincere feelings of identification with those aspects of the condition of poverty that they can understand. That their decent motivations so often lead to frustration and indifference, sometimes even to callous and cruel behavior, is a clue to how lost even highly trained people can get in this dark and unfamiliar terrain.

Who knows the way? Who can lead us into and out of the labyrinth? Who, for that matter, can even reveal to us what our own jokes truly mean? "The organized significance of art" -- this is Ralph Ellison quoting André Malraux -- "The organized significance of art. . . alone enables man to conquer chaos and master destiny." As a psychologist, I may want to draw back a little from the exclusiveness of that claim for art. As an artist, I believe that it is profoundly true.

* * *

The secret, then, is out. I come to you possessed of two passports, and the viewpoint I can express on the arts as agents of social change is not that of a psychologist exclusively, but also that of a man dedicated to the practice of art. And I must qualify it still further.

In the internal dialogue between psychologist and artist, my two selves have come to agreement on a few points.

One is that rigorous self-confrontation -- the willingness to face up to one's values and the anxieties associated with change -- is essential to effective and creative functioning. The temptation to resolve conflict and uncertainty by falling back on that which is familiar and safe rather than moving ahead to that which is indicated is ever present.

As a psychologist working in the ghetto I have become increasingly aware of the limitations of traditional therapeutic approaches and increasingly invested in programs of primary prevention and social action. When I assert that the encouragement of social action is an essential part of any effective community mental-health program, it feels to me that I am asserting an obvious fact. The truth, of course, is that I am asserting values.

Similarly in my painting I find myself working toward a political art of engagement and confrontation -- not unrelated to the new documentary theatre. My paintings and sculpture are responses to such "facts of life" as race hate, national chauvinism, and the litany of evils that attend ghetto poverty. I believe that every work of art is a moral act. I am convinced -- indeed I know -- that all art, no matter how removed from social relevance it seems, both triggers and expresses social change. Values again.

With this, an end to all introductory demurrals and hedgings. The viewpoint of this paper is that of a psychologist-artist-social activist who believes that there is a way to get there from here -- and that the artist can show us the way. It lies through an acceptance of the power of art, and a recognition of its necessity.

* * *

In its origins, art was closely related to power. Its decisive function, says the Austrian poet and critic Ernst Fischer, "was to exert power -- power over nature, an enemy, a sexual partner, power over reality, power to strengthen the human collective. Art in the dawn of humanity had little to do with 'beauty' and nothing at all to do with any aesthetic desire: it was a magic tool or weapon of the human collective in its struggle for survival."

Fischer argues that art always plays a dual role, that of magic and myth-making on the one hand, and that of enlightening and stimulating action, on the other. The proportions of the emotional, or magical, and the didactical will vary from one age to another and indeed from one work of art to another, but both must be present or art ceases to be art. In other words, art is neither for art's sake, nor for propaganda's sake, but for humanity's sake.

It is in this spirit that I propose to discuss the arts as agents for social change, and not only the arts but the artist -- as magician and teacher, myth-maker and sociotherapist, propagandist and catalyst of social change in our 20th Century American ghettos. They offer a novel setting for the contemporary artist, in which he will confront a different kind of audience and, perhaps, produce a different kind of art.

But first let's see whether he can work there at all. East Harlem is not Montmartre, nor is Watts Greenwich Village. And, for reasons that have much to do with the differences between creative and bureaucratic personalities, the artist has not worked freely, happily, or effectively within the traditional community-service organizations one finds in the ghettos.

The artist's need for maximum freedom may be seen as a threat to administrative order: the artist may release energies that result in social action directed against the organization he represents. To the extent that he is a power center in himself, he always poses a potential problem.

The problem is, perhaps, ultimately unsolvable except in terms of accommodation and adjustment. If groups are small, if power is dispersed, if the artist is drawn into intimate working relationships with other professionals, the results may be highly productive.

The nearest thing to a model for the kind of organization in which the artist might be productive is found -- not in the neighborhoods at all, but, of all places, hidden away in the hierarchical structures of certain large mental institutions. I am referring to the so-called therapeutic community.

* * *

The idea of the therapeutic community has risen in reaction to the dehumanizing effects of custodial-style, systems-oriented hospital care for the mentally ill. It is a revolt of professionals who have advanced some concepts that will sound familiar to veterans of the new-style anti-poverty battles: democratize decision-making; search for indigenous leadership; relax the boundaries of authority; recognize that change involves the entire environment; make the organization fit the people, not the other way around.

The therapeutic community fosters the formation of semi-autonomous groups with a great deal of emphasis on self-help and community responsibility. An attitude of permissiveness toward deviant behavior is encouraged, along with a recognition that the hospital environment should provide situations that approximate the problems and expectancies of life "outside" -- situations that address the patient's health rather than his pathology.

There is great emphasis on open communication and self-appraisal. Change is considered a two-way street; criticism of authority is encouraged and self-appraisal pertains to staff as well as patients. Often staff and patients are on a first name basis. The slogan "We are all patients" emphasizes the surrender of professional prerogatives. In some respects this turns out to be living dangerously, for once the traditional barriers are down, who defines the nature of staff-patient relationships, and through what process? What should be the outer limits of the democratization of therapy?

Whatever the theoretical and practical problems, and there are many, the therapeutic community does provide a unique environment for the artist. As groups form within the community, and ties are established among the group members, there is an extraordinary build-up of energy and latent talent which waits to be drawn forth. And it is the touch of the artist that can reap the harvest.

The important thing is not technique, but the artist's presence as a permanent and fully integrated member of the community participating in all its functions. Even the most seriously disturbed and withdrawn people can be drawn out of isolation and into meaningful social interaction by means of art.

For some years I was associated with a therapeutic community in which artists were used as group leaders and sociotherapists. We encouraged patient groups to conceive, design, and execute large murals. Patients learned to cooperate, to make decisions, and to articulate their feelings about themselves and their community. In creating the murals, the groups directly influenced their environment -- a paradigm for social action in the neighborhood.

In Switzerland, schizophrenic patients in a Lausanne hospital constituted themselves a group and made motion pictures -- without prior encouragement by hospital authorities or artists. The patients were merely brought together to be shown how to run some film equipment acquired for occupational therapy, or, as the hospital director frankly put it, "to help pass the time." Completely unexpectedly, the patients decided as a group that they wanted to make a real film, and they did.

It took a year to complete. A film-maker provided technical aid. The patients themselves conceived, animated, acted in, and photographed "The Poet and the Unicorn." Other patients made a second film, called "Good Morning, My Eye!" and a third is now in production. Many of these schizophrenics had been almost completely blocked and could not be interested in the traditional arts-and-crafts therapies. But the group artistic experience helped the patients establish meaningful contacts among themselves and with the environment.

One should, however, note that risks that accompany these rewards, for each film is a judgment on the environment. In the first, the poet-patient of the title is released from the hospital only after all the psychiatrists have marched off to war -- and, presumably, mass annihilation. The second includes a tirade against hospital discipline, and the third, reportedly, is based on jokes about psychiatrists and psychiatry! The establishment -- hospital or community -- must be prepared to see the energy of the group directed against it.

* * *

While the therapeutic community cannot be directly transposed into a model for social change in which the artist can play a meaningful role, there are, I submit, some promising possibilities, many of which are already being realized in anti-poverty and community mental-health programs now being developed across the country. There is a trend in these programs toward decentralization, and in the next few years we will see a proliferation of small neighborhood-based service centers. These centers will be staffed by indigenous non-professionals, and will offer a wide range of services related to health, education, and welfare. It is within such delineated neighborhoods that artists as members of a change-team can help crystallize and bring into full realization that which is healthy amid so much that is pathological.

I have placed considerable emphasis on the structure within which the artist may work effectively as a social-change agent, because it is the setting, and the artist's relationship to it, that is both critical and novel. What is proposed is that we harness the power of the artist to help the community articulate its feelings and to catalyze whatever action may be necessary to improve its social and physical environment. I think the artist will feel at home in this role: his current interest in social and political problems represents, I believe, a return to the mainstream after a quarter-century of alienation. Throughout most of this nation's history, most of our artists -- and I include all of the arts -- have felt that their lives and work bore an organic relationship to society. Even when bitterly critical, like the later Twain, or in self-imposed exile, like the earlier Hemingway, the feeling of connection has been clear. It is my impression that this consciousness intensified between the end of World War I and the beginning of the Depression, reached a high point during the period of the WPA writers and artists and theater projects and spent itself in the vastness of the national war effort (and, it must be added, in the postponements and compromises made in the name of victory).

I pass in silence over the long night of McCarthy and the troubled sleep of the Eisenhower era, except to point out that among the handful who represented the conscience of a nation there were many artists.

The 1950's ended in a series of awakenings, of movements. Of these the most dramatic and electrifying was the Civil Rights movement, because it proved that the establishment could be shaken -- that there was a way out of the air-conditioned nightmare -- that moral courage could still arouse the country. The Civil Rights movement is the undeniable father of the anti-poverty movement, despite some signs that the child would like to deny its obstreperous parent. And, if not the father, the Civil Rights movement is, certainly, the benevolent uncle of the peace movement, which had been balancing teacups on its bony knees until it caught fire from the youngsters staging sitdowns in coffee shops. The documentary proof that non-violence worked, even in the face of Southern white violence, gave heart to those who hope to see non-violence work internationally. More recently, of course, the peace movement also got a big boost it didn't want, from the escalation of the war in Vietnam.

Anyway, there was a great national stirring as we entered the sixties. A young President was urging us to "get the nation moving again," and it started to happen. In a number of initiatives, most notably by establishing the Peace Corps, the government itself fired the enthusiasm of imaginative people, youths and artists among them -- and it had been a long time since that had happened.

It is sobering to look back on, for the promise of the sixties has not yet been fulfilled. More than a man died on that Dallas street in November 1963.

There have been setbacks. The road to the Great Society has revealed some bewildering turns and twists. But the ferment is still in the land, voices have been raised that will not be silenced, questions asked that will not go unanswered. The artist has not been unaffected. He has already demonstrated that he can be drawn into some of our nobler battles, but he is elusive -- somewhat like the bird in the folk story. You can catch him, if you can put salt on his tail.

* * *

It is time to confess that when we discuss the artist, we are talking about an entity little known or understood. I don't mean that society misunderstands the artist -- that is part of the conventional wisdom -- but that we know very little about the creative process. The literature of psychology is replete with studies of learning, perception, and intelligence, all of which are doubtless associated with creativity, but they are not it.

The fact that creativity has been so little studied suggests that it may not stand so high in our hierarchy of human values as we think. Perhaps we all tend to view the creative person stereotypically -- as "an eccentric. . .a longhair. . . a true neurotic, withdrawn from society, inept in his relations with others. . emotionally unstable. . . " and living "just this side of madness. " These epithets are culled from a list compiled by Donald W. McKinnon, after a six-year, nationwide, group study of creativity. They typify widely held views of the creative personality.

Are these views mistaken? McKinnon's answer is a qualified "No. " Having studied and tested several hundred creative writers, architects, and scientific-research workers, he and his colleagues found, and I quote, ". . . that creative persons seldom represent fully any of the common stereotypes, and yet in some respects and to some degree there are likenesses. It is not that such images of the creative person are fantastic but that they are caricatures rather than characterizations, heightening and sharpening traits and dispositions so as to yield a picture recognizable, yet still out of accord with reality. "

Granted, then, that the conventional view is not altogether invalid, what does it leave out? A great deal, again according to Dr. McKinnon, and I quote: ". . . His high level of effective intelligence, his openness to experience, his freedom from crippling restraints and impoverishing inhibitions, his esthetic sensitivity, his cognitive flexibility, his independence in thought and action, his high level of creative energy, his unquestioning commitment to creative endeavor, and his unceasing striving for solutions to the ever more difficult problems that he constantly sets for himself. "

Perhaps one thing more must be added -- his imperative need for communication in depth, from his innermost self. In this the creative person resembles the analysand supine upon the couch. Psychoanalysts have pointed to a communications parallel between psychoanalysis and the creative process that would seem to bear directly on the artist's role in society. It is the similarity of content among the productions of the analytic patient, the themes of the artist, and the primal themes of myth: among them birth, death, love, hate, incest, sex -- themes of the forbidden, the unattainable, and the repressed. That these materials emerge explosively in psychoanalysis, any practitioner will testify. They continue to carry tremendous emotional power when presented in the guises and disguises of art. May this not account for some of the awe and suspicion with which society often regards the artist?

Even if one rejects a psychoanalytic interpretation, the fact remains that art speaks the language of authentic human experience couched in terms of emotion and aesthetics. Except for our direct, and often so inadequate, intercourse one with another, art is our sole means of expressing or receiving a vision of life. It enables us to "live with ambiguity, move from abstraction to imagination, from enmity to reconciliation, from despondency to hope."

For all his qualities, the artist is frequently at odds with society. He is a self-expressing iconoclast, highly tolerant of deviations in behavior and thought (including his own), innately anti-authoritarian, unorthodox in his approach to problems, uncompromisingly devoted to truth and beauty as he conceives them. He is, if you like, the proto-typically inner-directed anti-organization man.

In work, the artist expresses what the rest of us feel but can not, or dare not, say. His self-generating, action-oriented style can be a model of discipline, dedication, disinterested pursuit of excellence, and, even, of optimism and hope. For even if the product is critical or pessimistic, the creative process is always an affirmation for humanity.

It has often been remarked that society appreciates no artist quite like a dead one. It is not only that death defines the market by putting an end to production; it is much more, I suspect, that then, at last, society has got the artist pinned down -- no more tricks, sudden reversals of field, scary revelations, no more ambiguity. Society's anxiety is greatest in periods of crisis, and with artists who are inclined to become involved. One never knows where one stands with a Picasso, a Frank Lloyd Wright, or a Charlie Chaplin -- or rather, the Philistine always knows where he stands, and wants an end to it.

I believe the Philistine will take scant pleasure from a survey of the current scene, for he will find younger artists becoming more and more involved. Boundaries are broken every day. Poetry moves off the printed page and into the bars and coffee houses. Painting leaps from easels to hospital walls to sidewalks. Theater moves from Broadway to Off-Broadway to Off-Off-Broadway onto the streets and into the parks and playgrounds. The "happening" -- a new form that is poetry and painting and theater and music and more -- happens. We move toward an art that involves the total environment including the audience -- we move toward art as social action.

Let me briefly cite a few examples.

In Delano, California, a strikers' theater has come into existence, performing on the tailgate of a ton-and-a-half truck, going out to where the farm workers are with the message of the Huelga, the grape strike. That the workers get the message is due in no small part to the fact that the actors in El Teatro Campesino are themselves strikers. Luis Valdez, the director and a former member of the San Francisco Mime Troupe, is the only professional -- and he is a native of Delano who used to work in the fields too.

The dramatic unit of the Teatro is the acto, a ten or fifteen minute skit improvised within the framework of characters identified with the long and bitter struggle of the National Farm Workers Association -- scabs, contractors, growers, and strikers. The cutting edge is satire, and the action often reaches out into the audience, as when a make-believe Governor Brown (the real one had been invited but did not appear) arrived in a car and was dragged, protesting, onto the truck-stage.

El Teatro Campesino is an indigenous leadership group, using the materials of the theater to help an impoverished and exploited community see and define itself. It expresses the values of the community by making propaganda for the strike, and does more: because each troupe member is free to express his individual values within the improvisational framework, what emerges transcends propaganda and takes on the rich textures and unpredictable nuances of art.

In Amsterdam, a group of young, fun-filled revolutionary artists appear to be using their art as a weapon in the struggle to make Amsterdam the City of -- if not God, then certainly, Go-Go. The group are called provos, which is short for provocateurs. They believe that authority is always ultimately coercive, and their provocations are designed to make authority show it. Forbidden to hold a demonstration, the provos suddenly appear handing out blank sheets of paper to passersby, saying: "Go home and write your own leaflet!" The provos have proposed a solution to Amsterdam's traffic problem: ban all four-wheeled vehicles and provide thousands of communally owned bicycles -- which one may ride where he wants to go and leave for the next person. The bikes are to be completely white, and to dramatize their program the provos have been leaving white bikes unlocked on the streets for anyone to use. The police impound the bikes on the grounds that they encourage stealing! I can imagine that the provos laugh a lot, and they seem to know that the authorities can never afford to get the joke. They are engaged in political action as some of our young people "do" happenings, and successfully -- a provo has been elected to the Amsterdam city council -- but, except for traffic, the Netherlands is singularly free of the problems and potentialities, for good and ill, that wrack many societies, including our own.

For all their creativity, the provos may prove ephemeral. Yet one is reminded that the snake in Genesis was the first provocateur -- and only squares believe that the Garden before the Fall was worth living in. I have already mentioned happenings. Robert Brustein a few weeks ago called in the pages of The New York Times Magazine for a superb, gay, and wild theater, as a balance for the mechanical frivolity of the musical comedy and the heavy humorlessness of serious drama.
Mr. Brustein suggests that there is something -- he does not, unfortunately, say what that something might be -- in our culture that encourages serious artists to become pretentious, and light artists to dissipate themselves in pure froth. What he calls "the third theater," however, is beginning to flourish underground, with intensity, exuberance, and engagement. It is becoming, says Mr. Brustein, "... a rallying point for all those frustrated by the moral cant of government leaders and the

artistic cant of cultural leaders, for its drama... seeks relief from political impotence in untrammeled free expresion."

I have seen none of the three anti-war, anti-Establishment plays Mr. Brustein cites as examples of the third theater -- "Viet Rock," "Dynamite Tonite," and "MacBird." But it is clear from his descriptions that they all go far beyond the illusionist theater, toward a direct engagement of the artist's emotions with those of the audience.

"America, Hurrah," which opened in New York only last week, sounds like another in the same genre, and they are multiplying. Peter Weiss's new play "The Investigation" turns spotlights on the audience to implicate them in the moral action -- except that on Broadway, symbolically perhaps, the spotlights are dimmed. Productions like these take us nearer to the happening, in which the theater itself dissolves and the audience becomes the cast.

I do not wish to add to the flood of words written about "the theater of total environment." Anyone who ever encountered a distorted mirror in a carnival fun house has experienced it. Nor will I attempt to deal with what a happening is. (Maybe Louis Armstrong's comment on jazz applies here: If you have to ask what it is, you'll never know.) It is, and can no more evade its is-ness than a poem can. But happenings have one characteristic that makes them important to this discussion: they can make people see their environment.

Happenings may be, and have been, put on practically everywhere -- in parking lots, caves, abandoned tenements, and on one especially famous occasion, an occupied conference hall under circumstances not unlike these. The result, when the happening comes off, is that the audience-spectators are thrust into a new relationship with the environment, and if the environment is a familiar one, they may feel that they are really seeing it for the first time.

It is the responsibility of the artist who is producing a happening to define the limits of the environment and so order the sequence of improvisations that the participant is led to revelation. If, let us say, the defined space was a district in a city and the audience-participants were the residents -- could a happening change the image of that district? The answer is "yes;" it was done just this year in a section of New York City that had become a symbol of decadence and night time terror -- Central Park. In addition to happenings, artists under the direction of Phyllis Yampolsky created and staged a series of Events in Open Air -- E. I. O. A. -- too diffuse and multi-faceted to properly be called happenings, perhaps, but with the same joyous and impudent originality. The administration, by which I mean Parks Commissioner Hoving, made a couple of other modifications of the environment: closed it to cars and opened it to bikes on Sundays, put up some attractive snack bars with striped canopies, but most of all, had the courage to give the artists freedom. The park became a place for fun and joy, the crime rate dropped, and even The New York Times, although a mite taken aback at some of the Bohemian goings-on, gave a nod of approval. At the last E. I. O. A. in October, someone made an effigy and labeled it "Hoving for King." And if you suspect that there is a moral concealed in this, you are right. We will reach it soon.

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There are several ways in which artists can be involved in community programs aimed at social change.

The most familier, traditional, and safe is that of teacher. None of us wants rare talent to waste its fragrance on the desert air, and the more gifted artists teach in the ghettos, the more talented youngsters will be recognized and encouraged. The discovery and encouragement of individual talent is a worthy enterprise, but a limited strategy if the goal is institutional change.

If the artist-teacher is cast in the role of socio-therapist the scope of his responsibilities and the breadth and depth of his influence are greatly augmented. Because of his magical and myth-making qualities, as well as his craft discipline and dedication, he is almost inevitably a charismatic figure to adolescents. The artist can easily become a group leader, serving as a catalyst of and technical advisor for various kinds of creative projects that emanate from the neighborhood itself. He can channel individual and group energies into endeavors that use the environment creatively -- for example, street happenings aimed at increasing neighborhood self-awareness. The artist because of his style and charisma can often reach segments of the population inaccessible to traditional social-service professionals. Thus he is likely to serve as a unique communications bridge between the neighborhood and program administrators.

The artist may have another role which relates directly to his product. I think, based on my own experience, that no artist can involve himself in the ghetto for long without reflecting it in his own work. From this may flow two consequences. First, he begins to seek his audience within the ghetto, and thus becomes a force of self-realization and affirmative myth-making for the community. And second, to the extent that he continues to have an audience outside, his work articulates the meaning of ghetto life for the rest of us.

Lest my portrait of the artist as a social-change agent appear utopian, let me now touch on a few of the problems. Compatibility between the artistic and the administrative personality is simply not in the nature of things. Yet the artist's "method" of going about his work is inseparable from the results he is after. Administrators must forebear; artists must make a genuine effort to, for example, keep the kinds of records that will facilitate research and evaluation of their programs. Artists and administrators must understand that effective change can only come about through long-term, functional, and intimate involvement in the community: sensational one-shot programs generate excitement and publicity but when they are over, the community is unchanged or perhaps worse off than before. Programmatic flexibility must co-exist with continuity, for with the introduction of the artist a new, unknown quantity enters the field of community and mental-health programs. The artists, the organizations, and the programs will all change in ways that cannot be predicted.

Finally, there is the problem of defining boundaries. Throughout this paper I have used the term "ghetto" in conventional contrast with the world outside. In reality, where there is one ghetto, all are ghettos. Senator Kennedy was recently booed by an audience of college men when he questioned their privileged draft status. When he asked whether they would like to see an escalation of the war in Vietnam, the same men cheered lustily. They favored escalation without personal risk and involvement. They too are products of a ghetto, which has its own deprivations, limitations, and sicknesses. There is, in Erich Fromm's striking phrase, "a pathology of normalcy."

You cannot change the man in the slum without changing the slum. You cannot change the slum without changing the world outside. The artist, who knows that the world is one, knows this instinctively, and this knowledge is dangerous. Dangerous, that is, to the status quo. We come again to the question of power. If the artist is introduced as an agent for social change, he will tend to exceed his warrant. Somewhere within the hierarchy of power structures, there will be response to this effrontery. Perhaps there has been, already -- some artists believe that an informal Establishment blacklist exists, and that active participants in the peace movement are on it. Be that as it may, the Establishment must decide whether it will finance artists and leave them free to turn against it. And if anti-poverty programs are to include the arts, administrators must decide whether they believe art is an essential, or a frill to be dispensed with at the first budget cut or hint of controversy.

I have strong reasons for hoping that these decisions are favorable. Too much of what I have said today is based on theory and personal impression, and not nearly enough on documented research and the history of projects. There is urgent need for research into the potentialities of the various media -- theater and film, painting and music -- as agents for social change. There is urgent need for pilot projects that can be researched. Artists workshops can be attached to neighborhood service-centers. Artists can be given subsidies and encouraged to move into the ghettos, live and work there, open their studios and workshops to the youth of the neighborhood. We have artists-in-residence in universities, why not in slums? I should like to see artists -- not art-teachers, but professional artists -- put into the elementary schools and encouraged to stage happenings and events in the classrooms, hallways, and play areas to see whether we cannot change, first the image of the ghetto school, and then the institution itself. At least there would be creative ferment and excitement that are lacking today.

If we are willing to define our goals clearly, much can be accomplished. In New York, Parks Commissioner Hoving set out to meet an obvious need of the people for safe and liveable parks. He found artists who accepted the goal and were given freedom as to means. It seems to me that this procedural model can be followed wherever and whenever we can agree on what the needs really are.

I know that is not a small proviso. As things stand, only the poor themselves are capable of believing that their poverty is not inevitable. Outsiders can at best facilitate their belief, and the artist is better equipped to do it than most, for, just as the clinician inevitably directs himself to pathology, the artist directs himself to health.

For the war against poverty to succeed we must budget a war and not a holding action. We must awaken the conscience of our nation and implement what A. Philip Randoph has called a "Freedom Budget" for all Americans. Let us avail ourselves of the power of art for this task.

EXCERPTS FROM THE DISCUSSION WITH MR. ROMAN

Audience: My name is Noah Purifoy and I am from Los Angeles. I don't think the artist is a mystery. I don't think he should be lauded as such, and put apart. We have done this consistently and the artist has enjoyed this position of being put on a pedestal. In our Watts project, the people merely took our junk that we had collected after the riots, and put it together with some freedom. On the other hand, we feel that to whatever degree creativity becomes social protest, or aspects of morality or aspects of, say, social change as such, then it falls short of creativity.

Audience: I'd like to ask you to amplify one statement you snuck in there about using artists and not art educators in the schools.

Mr. Roman: Well, I think I can say what I meant simply and maybe we can talk about it. I have had very little experience with art educators and much more experience with professional artists. The experience I have had with art educators has been disastrous. The experience I have had with artists working in these various projects has been very exciting. The main thing I feel about it is that the professional artist has an excitement and a commitment to creativity, to his work, that the art educators I have been involed with have not had. I am not over-idealizing the artist in the sense that I feel he is separate from everyone else in the community. I think there has been too much of that and I feel very much that we want to bring the artist into the community. But at the same time, I don't think it serves the purpose to deny that we are different in some ways, all of us, and there are certain areas of expertise or certain predispositions that can be useful in one way or another.

Audience: Mel, would you amplify a little bit about this idea of the artist as a facilitator of affirmative myth-making for the ghetto community?

Mr. Roman: I meant that two ways. After all, we all work from our experience. We paint or sculpt or write from what we know best. I am sure many of you who have worked in ghetto areas know about the kinds of things I mean -- the street-cleanup programs, and putting all the junk together. They just nailed it together and painted it and it was called instant sculpture and at the same time, it cleaned up the streets and produced a symbol for the cleanup process, so they had a product and so on. But the point is that many of these artists have told me that their work had changed after this experience. And they don't as yet know whether it has changed for the better or for the worse, but it's changing and they are not working in the same way. What I mean by "myth" is a system of beliefs and values, organized into some symbolic reference. I think there would be a commonality in that. I think there are things that are the same in the ghetto as they are outside of the ghetto. I mean, the basic myths in society and the basic beliefs of society are the same everywhere. But there are certain themes that are inherent in certain areas of the environment that I think can be articulated by the artist.

Audience: Lots of the statements you made, namely, that if we only get arts into this, everything will start cooking, have to be qualified by saying what kind of artists with what kinds of values.

Mr. Roman: I would say, as a generalization, that if we get professional artists involved in these communities, things will start cooking. Then we have the responsibility to do exactly what you're saying. I think that I would say yes, we have to do the same thing there that we would do with any kind of systematic research about change -- that is, who is doing what to whom, under what conditions, for what reasons, and so on.

Audience: My question about values is not rhetorical. I saw the statement distributed in a dozen places through the paper, that if you get a person called artist, undefined, one who is calling himself an artist, what you call a professional artist, which also is a very ambiguous category, or mixed-up category, into a situation, then the right things will begin to happen. If he practices his art.

Audience: My name if Julian Euell, and I'd like to pick up again on the use of the live artist, as I term it, the guy who is still practicing his art. I think in the program that I was involved in, one of the criteria that I used, and one of the ideas that I had, was to go with the artist who was practicing, the live artist, for I felt that there were many advantages that an art educator doesn't have. The A-1 advantage is the fact that he is still in contact with the art world, whether it be a studio or, if he's in theater, he still has his theater connections and this gave us a great deal of range and was very stimulating as far as our young people were concerned, to move around with the artist, in his studio, in other artists' studios. Now, as administrators of these programs, we had the responsibility to evaluate the qualifications of even the so-called professional artist or the live artist. In interviewing him, we have in our minds, (a) what his skills are and (b) the kind of person he is and how he fits into where we want to go in relation to the kind of program we want to be involved in. I worked in Harlem and I had a lot of fellows come into my office and say, "I paint, and I want a job." This was also part of the whole anti-poverty program atmosphere where people were looking for jobs. So I had to really go through a lot of changes, as you might say, trying to tell this guy that we were not just hiring people because they paint or because they think they are artists or whatever, but that they had to have a certain degree of experience and training, so that they could impart this to students. So I think it's a determination of the person who is administering the program to set some standards in that way.

Audience: My name is Elliot Eisner. I would like to say first that I think there is another way of interpreting what might be an appropriate condition for working with culturally disadvantaged youngsters in the arts, regarding the kind of personnel that are needed and appropriate. I have no objections to using artists, providing that these people have the kind of characteristics that I think are going to be useful and desirable when they work with other people. It seems to me that what is important, working with kids of that kind, is not so much that the man be a painter, but that the man have the kinds of human characteristics that will allow a rapport to come into existence, that will develop the kinds of attitudes and relationships and values, if you will, that we value and that we think are desirable for human development. I don't think those characteristics are necessarily located in artists or omitted from art educators.

Audience: Jerrold Ross, New York. I think I am glad that Dr. Roman, at the end of his paper, said something about not dismissing art educators completely -- that one of the functions of programs that he envisions would be the revitalization of the art-education program. This is, perhaps, needed, as it is needed in music, and as it is needed in all of the other arts in the school system today. There is an unfortunate dichotomy, however, in this country that needs to be broken down, between the professional and the educator. It's too simple to say, "Let's bring in the professionals and they will provide the answers." It's equally fallacious to say: "The professionals have no understanding of the educative process; therefore, let's keep them out." I think each of these groups has something to contribute to the other, a great deal to contribute. As an educator myself, I have found that no matter how successful an artistic experience, unless there are definitive goals connected with it, unless there is some way in which a great artistic experience can be transmitted over a long period of time, such a program is very often lost.

Audience: I am Shelley Umans and I am from the New York City public school system. I am interested in Mr. Ross's comment. One of the many things that I am looking for in this conference is the process of getting art educators to talk to professional artists. It's fine for us to sit here and say, "Let's do it." My problem is, how do you do it?

Audience: You are hearing from all the educators. I am Terry Hughes from the Detroit public schools. I'd like to say, in support of Dr. Roman: If the task cannot be done by the art educators, throw them out. If the artists can do it, let them do it. Let's be more concerned with service for the community and not with who performs it. And I think that this is what he is trying to say.

Mr. Roman: I agree with that completely. I had no intention of saying that we should throw out the art educators and just bring in the professional artist, because I don't think they would go in to begin with. But I think that interaction between the two is essential and if we are talking about the schools, for the moment, rather than about the total community -- and I hesitate to do that, because I don't feel we should separate the schools from the total community -- I think the first phase is changing the image of the school in the community. I don't think art educators can do that. I do think artists can. Not every artist -- we have to find the right artist -- but I think the artist is the guy who can do it.

Audience: What we want is good artists, rather than bad art educators.

Audience: We want good teachers --

Audience: Yes. We want the best.

* * *

THE ARTS IN NEIGHBORHOOD LIFE

Francis Bosworth

The subject I was first given was "Arts and the Community Agencies," which is just about as bad a title as you could ask for. And I suggested it be changed to "The Arts and Neighborhood Life." I now have changed it again to "Anti-Poverty Is Anti-Art." [LAUGHTER] Or I could take the title from an article which appeared in American Education: "Art Gets the Tag End of Friday." If we wish to revert to nursery rhymes, we can move forward one day and call it "Saturday's Child" -- "Saturday's Child must know much woe." [LAUGHTER]

We, here assembled, believe that art is the ultimate expression of the creative forces in the human personality -- the well-spring of our being from childhood and throughout life. And Proust said, "Art is truly the last judgment."

But we are an infinitesimal but undaunted minority -- we see hope as artists have always seen hope. We believe that Art is a form of truth and that truth will set men free. We have come together to share some evidences of that truth which we trust will conquer, and which we believe can revitalize the well-spring of children and youth who have had little of the appurtenances of secure and gracious living. But we must see our hopes in the context of reality. And this is my first point.

In the introduction to the last book James Thurber wrote, he mentioned that he gave a lecture to a women's club and afterward a woman came up to him and said: "Mr. Thurber, don't you think things are getting better?"

He replied: "Madam, things can take care of themselves; I'm interested in People." [LAUGHTER] And People are the concern of the Arts.

In our National Youth Corps at the Friends' Neighborhood Guild we used different devices in getting the youth to write reports. One of these was to write advice to new members of the Corps regarding working with the Guild supervisory staff. One boy reduced his advice to a disturbing message of three words: "Know your enemy!" [LAUGHTER]

So let us first "Know our enemy."

We live and are educated in a culture in which the arts are largely suspect. The Anglo-Saxon Puritan tradition was felt early and still prevails within much of the most influential elements of our power structure as well as the great mass of our citizenry including school boards and teachers.

For instance, Drew Pearson had a column on October 20 which quoted from a campaign policy paper distributed to Republican candidates for Congress. Three of the twelve charges were these: 1) Omaha's Anti-Poverty Program included funds to teach ballet to slum children; 2) in Florida poverty funds had been used to rent tuxedos for Negro boys of the slums to attend a senior prom; and 3) Federal funds had been used to take slum children to see The Sound of Music.

The answer Pearson gives is almost worse than the charges: 1) the request for funds for ballet was disallowed; 2) the tuxedos were not rented for the boys in Florida (we don't know if they went to the prom); and 3) the tickets for The Sound of Music were purchased with non-governmental funds. A plague on both your houses. [LAUGHTER]

In Chester, Pennsylvania, application was made for an anti-poverty grant of $320, 000. How was this reported in the Philadelphia Inquirer -- and just before election?

"Chester requests tax funds to take slum children to the opera." Actually, only $780 out of $320, 000 was to be spent to transport and take children to Don Giovanni.

The people who elect our representatives -- the elected representatives themselves -- are all part of our American education system, the end products of our heritage and our culture.

Who, then, are the disadvantaged? Who, then, are the culturally deprived? All of us who were not rescued by some strange fate! -- our public officials -- our school boards -- our policy makers, and all of the people who either elected them or sanction their policies and pronouncements.

Art has never been a necessary ingredient in the education formula in America. It has never enjoyed state subsidies in Anglo-America. England opened its first national theatre last year but Charles XIV established and subsidized a state theatre in France and it is still in existence. Queen Elizabeth I loved the theatre but she never paid to see it. Subsequent kings as well as affluent Americans often subsidized actresses but never theatres. [LAUGHTER]

The closest the United States has ever come was the WPA Federal Theatre which was the most exciting era of American art and gave a start to such people as Orson Welles, John Hausman, and Abe Feder, and produced Murder in the Cathedral -- The Haitian Macbeth -- almost all of the classics, in fact -- and also produced a dramatization of Sinclair Lewis's It Can't Happen Here in 28 states and in 7 languages.

Yet I sat beside Hallie Flanagan when she was called to testify at the Dies Committee on Un-American Activities and heard Congressman J. Parnell Thomas read into the record a speech from Dr. Faustus -- then say, "Mrs. Flanagan, don't you know this Christopher Marlowe is a Communist?" [LAUGHTER] Wasn't the Congressman once a disadvantaged child?

Our task then is to establish the arts in their rightful place in American culture. We may begin with the poor from our slums but unless we create a different climate for the artist and the art-conscious citizen we may only handicap our poor children further as they advance into a more secure and privileged society.

However, as we move forward to build the arts into American education, let us not be limited by thinking of education solely in terms of schools. It was Charles Eliot who said "I suppose schools and teachers have something to do with education, just as churches and ministers have something to do with religion -- but not much." It was the same Dr. Eliot who said, "As a Harvard undergraduate, graduate student and professor, I questioned the much repeated boast that Harvard was the greatest storehouse of knowledge in America. But as President of Harvard, I realized it was true, because for generations -- the freshmen have brought so much and the seniors have taken so little away." [LAUGHTER]

Only a few have dared to challenge the anti-art of education. The best living example is Andrew Wyeth. His father, N. C. Wyeth, recognized Andy's talent and refused to send him to school. He carried the case up to the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania and he won the right to educate his son at home.* Andy also recognized the artist in one of his two sons, Jamie, and Andy and Betsy taught Jamie at home and he took periodic examinations from the State Office of Education until he was seventeen. Andy was unwilling to trust the potential talent of his son to the bleak exposure of public education.

Last Sunday, at a symposium for parents at Haverford College -- one of the students spoke on "Arts at Haverford: A Voice from the Underground." This title is descriptive of the role of the arts in most of our liberal arts colleges. My second point, then, is that art education has flourished in spite of colleges and schools and the artist is the one who has survived the attempt to press him into the mold of conformity.

It is expected that education is a homogenizing process which will render one relatively safe and predictable. Like our packaged cake mixes, one can add a simple ingredient -- an egg or a tablespoon of butter or a dash of salt -- and with a little beating into shape, the packaged educational product can be reconstituted into a department head, a salesman, a school principal or a candidate for office. But if the student discovers self-expression through the creative and participating arts, he is predictable no longer.

But art has flourished. Roger Stevens spoke Monday in Philadelphia and predicted a renaissance of art in America -- a great surge which will revitalize our national life and give it depth and new meaning. If this is so, then it is forces outside of formal education which have nurtured art and the artist with little exception. The settlement houses have had some part of this, more accurately in their early days than now. Art exhibitions, and concerts were the first programs in Toynbee Hall, London, University Settlement in New York, Hull House in Chicago, South End Settlement in Boston, and College Settlement in Philadelphia. And all of them ran into their first trouble because they had exhibits and concerts on Sunday.

I'm afraid art gets the tag end of Friday in most of our 400 Settlements today but there are notable exceptions. Today it is urban renewal and social action for a traffic light. Lucy Carner remarked that the settlement movement is like the Christian church. The farther back you go, the more radical it gets. And art is radical if you hold to the true meaning of the word, for radical means the root, and art goes to the roots of living.

Some of the Settlements have exciting programs in the arts, for example, Henry Street in New York with their theatre and dance and music. Helen Hall got a board member to donate $20,000 for Henry Street artists to put a tile mural in a public housing project. The Lighthouse in Philadelphia has an arts camp which draws from the entire Philadelphia area. Hull House has an avant-garde theatre and they have been on national prime T. V. time. South End House, Boston, has one of the most delightful children's art centers to be found anywhere. At St. Martha's House in Philadelphia a fighting gang was induced to dramatize their gang life and their individual problems and produced a play, "The In-Crowd," which was given throughout the Philadelphia area, although it never had a written script. Of course, Karamu House in Cleveland is the only Settlement which has its entire history and reason for being in the arts.

At Friends Neighborhood Guild -- which I know better than any other Settlement -- the arts still have to fight for their place. I came to the Guild in November, 1943, and the first two people I hired were a resident painter and a resident sculptor. Then we added a musician - Lukas Foss, who now has a secure place in the music world. For the past 10 years our auditorium is an art gallery every Sunday afternoon. Of course, the pictures remain on exhibit during every other use of the auditorium. We have specialized in giving gifted area painters and sculptors their first one-man shows and we have sold close to $150,000 in art works.

Then there is "Sundays at Eight." Every Sunday evening there is some event. A string quartet, a jazz workshop, a cellist or pianist, a folk singer, a Garbo picture or an evening of Charlie Chaplin.

We have art groups and classes in the Settlement - two artists, a potter and a variety of other artists according to availability. The profits from the gallery are converted into scholarships to allow our young people to attend one of

Philadelphia's five art schools. Two of our boys who live in public housing have won Cresson Traveling Fellowships from the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, $2,000 for a summer in Europe between their third and fourth years. Another Guild boy, a composer at Curtis Institute, also had a year abroad.

Our artists have gone into the public schools to work with special groups on school time. We also book and help to finance Prints in Progress, Young Audiences, Young Musicians and we book concerts of classical and folk artists. The deficit in the school program is paid by Andrew Wyeth who heads the sponsors' committee and who gave us a watercolor which we sold to set up the arts-in-school programs.

One of the exciting projects is our Play Parade. We rent six U-Haul trailers in the summer and the kids paint the sides of them to look like circus wagons. These are all children's paintings. Then they go through the streets and set up a portable playground. We have permits to block off seventy-two streets and arrive on schedule. In order to get a Play Parade in a block, the parents have to join together. They have to arrange for the street permit, get a permit to turn on the fire hydrant and arrange for someone who will take care of the equipment. The block group must raise the money for all of the basic equipment used. We bring games, a record player and small play equipment when Play Parade moves in.

Next Monday a group of older teens who hang out on the street corner of 12th and Poplar are beginning a creative writing class with Richard DeLone, the education feature writer of The Evening Bulletin. We got the boys down to the Guild on 8th Street and into our building with karate -- but that's on Wednesday night. We really want to have a film unit with these boys, but we have not been able to finance the program. If we do, some of the boys want to do a film on problems of the unwed teenage father.

I must tell you of a program we had for two years called, The Theater for Children, directed by a brilliant young man, Christopher Spaeth. And the fact that it is called "theater" is almost secondary. We took ninety-three youngsters tested by the school system from seven elementary schools, from the fifth and sixth grades. The requirements were that they be able to read at their reading level. The principal of one school said, "I've accepted your free lunch under false pretenses because I don't have any one in the fifth or sixth grade who can read at the proper reading level. We're using low third-grade readers in the sixth grade."

Actually, he had the largest number of the ninety-three once the youngsters were tested. This program went on for two summers and after school during our school year. They were mostly Negroes, some Puerto Ricans, some foreign-born, some American-born whites, but of the ninety-three, about eighty were Negro.

The youngsters had to memorize a poem a day. They would take it home. They called them "Penny Poems." They were in big type and decorated to look attractive. They went to several street fairs to sell their "Penny Poems," once with a painted cart and a donkey. One cent for a poem or five cents if you wanted them to recite it to you! I reached the point where I'd give them five cents for a poem, to prevent them from reciting it to me. [LAUGHTER]

Every day a child took a poem home and every afternoon when he came back he recited a poem. And these are not the things we normally think of as childish poems. They were sonnets of Shakespeare, Yeats -- and some very jaw-breaking ones, such as T. S. Eliot's "How to Name a Cat."

One summer, the money was put up by Lessing and Edith Rosenwald, and the second summer by the New World Foundation. The children studied Chaucer, the Arthurian legends -- in a room which looked like a jousting tent. We built a twenty-foot Trojan horse on the parking lot across the street, which didn't please everybody, and Greek was studied in and under the Trojan horse.

The first summer, at the end of six weeks, they gave "The Tempest," and the second year they gave "A Midsummer Night's Dream." They studied six Shakespearean plays in six weeks.

None of us were smart enough to see the true value of our classes in Middle English, Latin and Greek. It was Frank Jennings of the New World Foundation who said: "Do you realize the true value of what you've done? Do you know why these children are so successful in being able to give plays with Greek choruses in Greek and know Latin and Middle English and so on in just a short time? It isn't because you've really taught them at all. But these youngsters for such a long time have been conditioned to believe that they didn't know. Through their first years, they heard, 'You don't know, you don't know what a pencil is, you didn't know that was orange?' And so they kept their mouths shut and they were afraid to ask. But when you're reading 'Morte d'Arthur' or a Greek chorus, you have to say: 'What does it mean?' And pretty soon the youngsters opened out and they were no longer afraid to ask. They knew it was quite all right not to know, and there was somebody very pleased to tell you."

We have just completed Guild House, a six story apartment house with 91 apartments for independent living for people 62 and over, or for the permanently handicapped. All tenants must be able to function independently. This is part of the direct loan program of the Housing and Home Finance Agency by which we borrowed a million and a quarter dollars from the Federal government, 100% of the cost amortized for 50 years at 3-1/2%.

Our first families moved in on August 14th. All of us are delighted that buildings built with government money must spend 1% for art works. But the Guild art department took this $12,000 contract and all of the art work was done by people of the neighborhood.

The children made 600 tiles which we fired and these tiles make a frieze in the center hall of the first five floors. In addition, there are murals at each end of the halls by Guild artists, and a large tile mural in the entrance hall. The sixth floor is treated differently as this includes the solarium, but all the art work is by Guild artists.

Children often ask if they can see "my tile on the fourth floor?" All of the tiles are signed and together they represent quite a petition for neighborhood art.

And now to the third and last point. If we must continue to face the forces of anti-art -- and we do -- if we believe that the arts offer the greatest chance for building a child's ego and giving him a self-image which will carry him out of the slums by destroying the slum mind, then we must find a way to preserve this program from political vagaries and the cold winds of criticism and misunderstanding.

We know broad programs can only be possible with broad spending of tax dollars. But they are our dollars too. But I believe, regardless of the proportion, no program should depend entirely upon the support of tax dollars -- national, state, or local. Each project should be a carefully devised package made up of public funds, national foundation support and always partly supported by local foundations, family trusts, and individuals. The breadth and extent of this support should be part of the public interpretation. And each program should have a sponsoring group, even if you have ten or twenty different programs in your agency or school. And these should be made up of the neighborhood and a number of important citizens.

It is vital that the neighborhood people take responsibility in planning and supporting and interpreting this program. It is equally important that the well-known and affluent join with the people of the nieghborhood. Each has much to learn from one another.

I agree with Will Rogers: "Rich people would be just as nice as anyone else if they only had an equal chance." These sponsors can open doors and meet criticism. If someone blasts out that Federal money is being used to take children to "Don Giovanni" he should be told of all the different supporters of the program and no one knows whose dollar pays for what. But never make the mistake of defending the arts program by saying this is not tax money but is paid for by a private gift.

I believe there is a new role for the large foundations here. It is to make money available to pay specialists to assemble these assorted partnerships. I don't believe, by and large, that the settlement executive or the school principal or the artist can do this and also run a program. This calls for a special skill, but it can be done. This could build a strong program in the arts and at the same time move the arts into the schools and colleges and universities where they are needed. Also, foundations are looking for new programs and this offers a new field. And it must be done soon, and on a massive scale.

Art is truth and truth can prevail and overcome opposition among fair-minded people. And there are enough fair-minded people even if they are handicapped or prejudiced by not knowing. I can close as I began -- "Art is truly the last judgment." [APPLAUSE]

EXCERPTS FROM THE DISCUSSION WITH MR. BOSWORTH

Audience: I'm Esther Swanker from the New York State Education Department. I was very interested in both Mr. Bosworth's paper and Dr. Roman's paper, that something seems to emerge that I didn't discern before -- that the successful programs in the arts for the disadvantaged all have one characteristic in common and that is involvement. Something that's bothered me in working with art groups and in planning programs is a lack of appreciation, on the part of both the educator and the performing groups themselves, of this necessity for involvement or participation. Perhaps we might devise some approach to educators and to these groups to get this message across: that to be truly effective, we need more than just a spectator's type of program -- we need a program that actively involves children and others in the process of producing art. And a perfect example comes to mind. We have a program going in the New York City public schools, which, on the surface, is extremely successful. It's the Lincoln Center program involving nine high schools in the city. On the surface, this program seems to be extremely successful, and yet the man who directs the program, Mark Schubart, is dissatisfied with it, because he feels that there is little involvement of the children in the actual performance and the production of the program and very little relationship to the curriculum of the schools.

Mr. Bosworth: I think the child has to be involved in whatever it is. If the youngsters go to the art museum, they go knowing that they're going to come away with something -- they are going to talk about what painters they liked best or whatever the sculpture is and so on. With Prints in Progress, for instance, the youngster helps make the print. The same with the Philadelphia School of the Ballet. It is important that the youngsters touch the instruments that the musicians play. I think there must be a sense of direct personal involvement and participation, and this is the best way to build audiences, too.

Audience: It should be emphasized that the community does wish to participate. Take our experience in an organization I am connected with called "Joined for the Arts in Watts." We want to build a building, and the American Cement Corporation, we learned after exhibiting there, wants to help us. By thinking that the company will get as much out of doing for us as we get from them, we have gone this far along toward a building in Watts which will house exhibits and create a workshop. Now, because of an architect in Pasadena whose name is Wayne Williams, of Williams and Smith, we have fifteen designs made by some architectural students, during the summer, from California State Polytechnic College at San Luis Obispo. American Cement has already agreed to give us all the cement we need to build the building, and now we are interested in glass, steel, and lumber. So, another event that has happened quite recently was that American Cement has agreed to give us a man, part-time, to coordinate private industry on a level where we can secure glass, steel, and lumber. Already, Wayne Williams has found about 150 piles that oil derricks somehow use and abandon. Here is another aspect, too, that if our medium is junk art, what should the building look like in Watts? [LAUGHTER] If we are to be consistent with ourselves, then we can utilize used materials, so the young students at San Luis Obispo came up with some rather unusual designs. And what I am trying to say now is that I think many elements of the community do wish to participate in the community at large. So I think your point is well taken.

Mr. Bosworth: Based on what you say, your point and also mine, I can quote to you the charge of the yearly meeting of the Society of Friends of Philadelphia, to the Social Order Committee: "To comfort the afflicted and afflict the comfortable." [LAUGHTER]

Audience: I'm Ann Flagg. First of all, I am on the defensive. I am a teacher and I have been getting impressions that there is a feeling around here that teachers are somehow opposed to the arts and the whole idea of creativity and do a great deal towards stifling it. But I'd like for us to consider some time during the conference what are the positive contributions which educators are making and can make in the area of the creative arts. I happen to know one person here very well who is not only an artist but a great teacher, and I don't see that that is necessarily any contradiction -- that a teacher or a person in art education necessarily be a person dedicated to stifling the creative in children. Also, schools are with us and they are going to be here and I am concerned about what a body such as this can do to aid educators in giving meaning to the arts in the lives of children and I would like to see a greater consideration, if possible, of creativity as a process and not a product.

Mr. Bosworth: Miss Flagg, I would like to endorse what you say and I wish to say that the strongest allies we've got are art teachers within the school system, who, in many cases, feel rather isolated in trying to put over their ideas in the system. They have used us to bring programs into the schools.

Audience: When we first developed our program in the South Bronx, we were quickly aware that there is a great underutilization of very good existing services. And when one began to investigate why certain services -- clinical services, for example, pediatric services for children -- were under-utilized, it became clear to us, and I guess it is known to many of you, that the people in the areas we are talking about are neighborhood-bound. So we put store-front segments of our hospital service in the neighborhoods. We decentralized, not only by putting up clinics in the neighborhoods, but by making it possible for people to relate to the existing services and also getting feedback for ourselves as to what the priorities were, as seen by the people in the neighborhood. This, I think, was a very effective procedure. I think it relates to the question of art education in the following way. I don't think that education in art should be with a capital A. Nor do I think it should occur simply in one room in the school. A good deal of the concern about art education or about art is that it somehow is removed from life. And we have to find ways, either within the school or within the community, to put art into a much more meaningful relationship with everyday life. Perhaps more art education could occur in the playground than in the classroom.

Audience: Ted Katz, from North Carolina Advancement School. You know, I kind of wonder about bringing some of these words out of the abstract, and down into the concrete. In other words, what is effective teaching and how does a teacher get up in front of a classroom, what materials does he present and in what ways does he present them? One of the things that I found very comforting about Mr. Bosworth's paper was his inclusion of so many concrete examples of just what they were doing and how they were doing them, and, for example, just what it is that the artist does, not the fact that he's an artist, but what does he do as an artist -- is it electricity, is it dynamics? What is going on, that he is bringing before the students? Well, this is one of the things which I want to bring out.

Audience: I really think the discussion as to the professional versus the educator ought to be a dead one. I am particularly interested in the question that was raised about participation of the community, of children, of adults, because I think those programs, largely funded and expensively funded by Federal agencies and many foundations, that exclude the audience from active participation waste 80 to 90 percent of the time, effort, and money involved. Merely bringing an audience into Lincoln Center to witness a program and then sending them home, or sending Young Audiences into the schools and then leaving, often results in more serious deprivation as the end result than what they had tried to overcome. It leaves the child with the feeling that he is not part of this -- this is something special, that he is contributing nothing, and when he goes back to his home and his community, he finds that nothing exists there -- you have to go some place else for it. The establishment we see before us on the wall [a plan for a community development in Philadelphia] is a marvelous answer to this -- bringing these things directly into the community. Mass instruction, perhaps, is not sufficient; it should be broken down into smaller components in which many more children can participate, but really get into it because the components are small, and make each community a viable area.

Chairman: To me, something that was very real in Dr. Roman's paper was that he did postulate a distinction between what he called the administrative or bureaucratic personality, and what he called the artistic personality. The truth of the matter is all of us are victims of something here which makes distinctions between professional artists and art educators very, very artificial. In terms of day-to-day function, I would challenge anybody to show me that the director of the Museum of Modern Art in New York, or the director of the Brooklyn-Cumberland Medical Center, or the president of any university you want to name -- that these men do anything which is distinguishable from what any other one does. And none of them do very much that has anything to do with the main subject matter of their institutions. Now, these are realities. I mean, it's one thing, Dr. Roman, to talk about the artist as a social protester, or social activist, and about a power structure that should be tolerant of results which may be subversive to the continuation of the power structure in the form with which it began.

Audience: Well, I think there is always that kind of concern. I think that's exactly what relates to the institutional context, because there are things that can go on in a settlement house that could never go on in a school system as it exists right now, because it would not be tolerated by the administrative structure in the school system. So that various institutions have various degrees of flexibility, of tolerance for certain kinds of activities. I think one of the issues that concerns, let's say, the artist is that the artist is always interested in the edge of the canvas, or I think should be. The artist encloses; he is interested in boundaries. Life is infinite but art encloses, and I think that it's extremely difficult to define a neighborhood. I think the artist can help to define boundaries, neighborhoods, perhaps, in a different way.

Audience: Mr. Bosworth, forgive me for asking this kind of question, but I have to play the role of asking unpleasant questions. What are the end-products that you think you've achieved there -- that you consider to be the criterion of success? And could you conceive of ways of demonstrating what you'd done if someone seriously doubted you and the worth of everything you were doing?

Mr. Bosworth: Well, as to the latter, I don't think I'd try. As to the former, I think we have any number of children who, once having a very low and limiting opinion of themselves, now have infinite faith in themselves, have a new image of themselves. Now I think if we can do that, that they will follow that out into any kind of thing that they want. It's not necessarily or primarily to become artists. I would like to carry that just a little further. We have a program called "Threshold, " in which fifty-eight youngsters were admitted to college this year in a neighborhood where, only a year ago, only five had gone, and many of these were risk students for the college. We admitted this. For the risk students, we had a summer program called "Earn and Learn" in which, by the way, they were paid to study; the Department of Labor gave us a grant. But part of this also had an arts component. We had an artist there all the time, and they could stay on evenings and so on. We tried to get each one of these kids, going to college, to develop some one thing they did well, quite apart from the intellectual pursuit. In other words -- jazz combos, painting (they could do the signs for the freshman prom) -- each one of them had something within the arts that they could bring with them and it usually was within the arts, although in some cases they were athletes and that works, too, by which they had something to bring in their relationship to their peers when they entered college. And this in itself -- "I can do something" -- is important because when these borderline or risk students get in, if they are told, "Well, now, you are going to have to spend every minute studying," chances are they are going to flunk out. But you give them some one thing -- and they may not be top in math -- but give them some one thing that they can do, such as commercial art, or a jazz combo -- then they have another relationship and another adjustment to Middlebury or Dartmouth or wherever they are going.

Audience: Why wouldn't you try to prove this to this Doubting Pete?

Mr. Bosworth: Well, because I don't know how it would stand up after you did. You could make the assumption -- we can prove that fifty-eight kids went to college in a neighborhood where only five went before, for instance. This is a fact, let's put it that way. Now, there are many forces at work, trying to get these kids to go to college that didn't exist the year before, too, and they would have an equal right -- the local ministers, the counselor in the school, and so on, would have an equal right -- to say, "Well, look, we did an awful lot of this, too." In fact, I'll put it another way. We are going to have the first public announcement on that program this coming winter, now that we have results. We didn't make a big splash that we are doing it, because we were so anxious for the different high schools to get credit. We have worked through the counselors, although the Board of Education made an absolutely unprecedented exception for a private agency, and that is that our research worker and director at Threshold may examine the records of any child within the school system. But we certainly do everything to give this back to the schools, because fundamentally our job is to build this program into the warp and woof of public education, or of parochial school education, rather than build up a bigger and bigger adjunct or outside organization to help kids go to college.

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EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH AND THE ARTS

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This conference focuses upon the question: "What relevance do the arts have for facilitating the cognitive, emotional, and social growth of the culturally disadvantaged?" To answer this question meaningfully requires the examination of at least two types of data and theory. We need to understand something about the nature and function of the arts and we need to understand some of the problems and characteristics of the culturally disadvantaged. It will be my purpose in this paper to briefly examine these two areas and to suggest some of the researchable problems and instructional practices that appear to me to be promising and needed.

First, I would like to examine the arts; second, I will describe some of the characteristics of disadvantaged children that are relevant to instruction in the arts; third, I will report some of the research on art and the disadvantaged; and finally I will deal with what appears to me to be promising areas of inquiry and practice.

The nature of art, as you know, has been the subject of argument for at least two thousand years. Philosophic inquiry has attempted to illuminate art by describing the processes through which it comes into being,[1] by examining the characteristics of the art product,[2] and by appraising what it does to and with experience.[3] I will not attempt here to examine these philosophic positions, but rather to examine some of the theories that have been advanced by behavioral scientists in their effort to understand the conditions that affect learning in art. In short, I would like to examine a few of the major theoretical positions from which art and learning in it have been viewed.

It should be pointed out that the scientific study of artistic behavior is not new relative to the scientific study of behavior in general. Even so, little is known about artistic learning. Yet the general theoretical views that have been advanced are at present the best we have; thus I believe that they should not be overlooked in our attempt to understand the uses and consequences of artistic learning for the disadvantaged.

One of the most influential views of children's art has been developed by Rose Alschuler and La Berta Hattwick in their two-volume work Painting and Personality.[4] In the nineteen-forties, Alschuler and Hattwick studied the easel paintings of nursery-school children in an effort to identify relationships between the qualities that children paint and their social behavior. Their study indicated that the qualities painted, even by a preschool child, are not random but are associated with his feelings about himself and his relationship to others. The child, according to Alschuler and Hattwick, uses painting as a means through which his personality is projected; his choice of color, his use of line, his tendency to overpaint or to keep forms separate reflect his social and psychological needs. Thus, the child's art products can be used as significant data sources for understanding his personal and social growth.

Alschuler and Hattwick point out also that paints lend themselves, because of their fluid quality, to the expression of feeling. The child, as it were, can "reach down" to give feeling form. Crayons, however, and pencils because they provide for greater delineation are more appropriate for the expression of ideas. With crayons and pencils the child can create "pictographs" of what he knows; with paint and brush he can project what he feels.

A second position that has been advanced to account for behavior in art has been developed by Rudolph Arnheim.[5] According to Arnheim, who holds a view developed out of Gestalt theory, the child draws not what he knows -- something which so many in art education apparently believe according to Arnheim -- but what he sees. And as he matures the child begins to see more and more, his perception becomes more complex and highly differentiated. The growing child who, for example, draws a large circle with appendages for legs and arms does not "leave out" the shoulders and neck. The large head contains them. He draws a circle before a square because the circle is a less differentiated form.

But as he matures the child not only sees more but learns to invent the structural two-dimensional equivalent of that which he sees as three-dimensional; thus for Arnheim both perception and drawing are forms of cognitive invention that proceed for the child through the period of maturation.

A third position to account for drawing development has been advanced by Florence Goodenough and Dale Harris.[6] Goodenough and Harris believe that the child's drawings reflect in their degree of detail and differentiation the concepts that the child has attained. Concept formation requires that a child not only be able to identify a particular, it also requires that a child be able to assign it to a class and be able to recognize it as an instance of the class when the particular is encountered. Since the child draws the classes made up of the particulars he has seen and conceptualized, the degree of detail in a drawing -- especially in a drawing of a man -- is an index of the child's intelligence. And it has been demonstrated empirically that correlations between draw-a-man scores and Stanford-Binets for primary-grade children are on the order of .40.[7]

There are, to be sure, other positions dealing with artistic development and behavior that have been advanced over the past sixty years. Viktor Lowenfeld,[8] for example, argues not only the natural flow of developmental stages but the existence of two modes of perception: the haptic and the visual. Herbert Read[9] argues the existence of six personality types, each producing different types of painting. Norman Meier[10] argues the case that art ability is the result of constitutional stock inheritance. For Meier one's ancestry makes a difference genetically. June McFee[11] argues that a variety of factors such as the readiness of the child, the psychological environment in which he is to work, his ability to handle and process visual information and delineation skills affect the child's artistic development.

Each of the investigators brings a somewhat different view to the interpretation and explanation of children's development in art. Yet, if one looks hard enough, some significant areas of agreement emerge. Arnheim and Goodenough and Harris all agree that perceptual differentiation increases as the child matures. They agree, too, that complexity in drawing is related to the ability to see more of the world in which we live. Learning to see and learning to draw, while not identical, are related for Goodenough and Harris and Arnheim. And a complex perceptual view of the world is related significantly to the child's measured intelligence. His measured intelligence, in turn, is related significantly to school achievement, especially at the primary grades when correlations between I. Q. and school achievement tend to be higher than in later years.

Alschuler's and Hattwick's work is related significantly to Read's and Lowenfeld's work. All agree that the characteristics of the art product are important for the teacher to understand and use.

Indeed, the field of art therapy rests in part upon the assumption that the content and form of art reflect the psychological state of the producer. If this assumption is true, then a longitudinal analysis of the art work of a culturally disadvantaged child might provide important clues for understanding his social and psychological development. To obtain such data would require a type of clinical-actuarial approach to research in child art, one which as far as I know has not been used.

What we begin to recognize as we analyze the various positions that have been advanced to account for behavior in art is that expressiveness and competency in the arts is not simply the result of pouring out feeling, nor is it simply the result of maturation. Drawing, acting, and making music, like seeing and hearing, are in part learned behaviors and significantly affect one another in their mutual development. This point needs to be underscored because for so many years people in the field of art education have believed that their proper instructional role was one of providing materials and instruction to the child, but little more. Instruction, indeed, even the concept of learning in art, was not a part of the vocabulary of the field. Artistic ability, it has been believed, develops not so much from the outside in as from the inside out. Art was not taught, it was caught.

These theories and concepts, as we shall see, are relevant to the problem of using art to enhance the lives of culturally disadvantaged children and youth. We are concerned, I assume, with attempting not to produce professional artists -- although that would be no small achievement if it occurred -- but to use art to develop men capable of living personally satisfying and socially useful lives. To use art effectively with the disadvantaged child requires that one understand some of his problems and characteristics. It is to this area to which I will now turn.

One of the major studies of human development that has been published in recent years is Benjamin Bloom's study of stability and change in human characteristics.[12] Although this work does not deal specifically with the disadvantaged, it does provide ideas useful for understanding the significance of early life. After a year of studying the major longitudinal studies of growth, Bloom found that as long as one can anticipate the child's future environment, it is possible to predict with great accuracy a very large number of human characteristics at a very early age. Indeed, Bloom's data indicate that when the environment is held constant, the relationship between measurements at any two ages approaches unity. Using an overlap hypothesis developed years earlier by Anderson,[13] Bloom looked at the percentage of variance accounted for at later stages of development by those attained earlier. He found correlations among characteristics very high, hence predictable. His work demonstrates the critical importance of the early years and indicates that change during adolescence is much harder to achieve. Thus his work demonstrates empirically what has long been suspected: attention to the culturally disadvantaged should begin as early as possible.

Some of his students have carried his work further to demonstrate as Payne[14] did, for example, that school performance can be predicted with alarming success by the end of the third grade and that this information can and should be used to make better curriculum decisions in the school. Dave and Wolf[15] have developed a measure of the educational environment of the home which predicts school-achievement test scores on the order of +.75, a prediction that is far superior to that obtained by using social-class ratings. Social class is gross by comparison since the educational environment of the home is not perfectly correlated with the social class of the family. Some lower-class homes provide a more powerful educational environment than do some middle-class homes. By measuring these environments, school test scores and I. Q. are far more predictable. Interestingly enough, Dave's study indicates that the educational environment of the home is not the same for all siblings: it is specific to individual children. Thus, there are, properly speaking, educational environments in the home and not simply an environment.

One of the more intriguing studies of cultural deprivation was done in England by the British sociologist Basil Bernstein.[16] Bernstein studied the linguistic patterns of various groups of children and youth in England and has differentiated between what he calls restrictive and elaborated coding systems. According to Bernstein, the child learns to encode and decode verbal messages by acquiring the syntax used in the culture in which he lives. In lower-class and culturally disadvantaged groups, the linguistic code is restrictive: the sentences used are simple and short, stereotyped and condensed. These linguistic codes, according to Bernstein, have a significant role to play in shaping the child's communication patterns and discourse. But the restrictive code not only restricts discourse, it also restricts thought. This notion has been advanced not only by Bernstein but by George Herbert Mead, by John Dewey, by Benjamin Lee Whorf, by Jerome Bruner, and by Jean Piaget. If there is one idea that has emerged with power in recent years regarding the cognitive development of the child, it is that language in its elaborated, not in its restrictive sense, is one of the most important tools through which we think. The culturally disadvantaged child tends to be deprived of an elaborated verbal coding system which makes it possible to represent internally the actions and strategies useful for coping with abstraction.

Robert Hess's work on maternal teaching styles also underscores this point.[17] In his effort to understand how mothers from culturally disadvantaged homes teach their children, Hess set up teaching situations between mothers and their children through which their teaching strategies could be recorded and analyzed. Hess found that mothers from disadvantaged homes are more dogmatic, assertive, and less able to help the child see a problem from the child's point of view. That is, the culturally disadvantaged mother is less able to understand what the child needs to learn in order to cope successfully with a problem. Explanations or reasons for doing something are provided more infrequently. Thus the child's problem-solving skills, in these areas at least, are not developed effectively.

The inability to provide reasoned and relevant explanations, the restrictive use of language both in syntax and in vocabulary, combined with a home environment that provides neither the resources nor the models of learning valued by the school makes, as we painfully know, for a predictable failure in school experiences. The culturally disadvantaged child comes to school relatively unprepared, and his lack of adequate preparation -- which is from one to three years behind his culturally advantaged counterpart -- increases as he grows older. The gap in performance in academic areas between the culturally advantaged and the culturally disadvantaged increases at a level that is approximately equal to his grade in school. School often begins with difficulty and almost always ends in failure.

Let me now turn to an examination of the few studies dealing with art and the culturally disadvantaged. What I have tried to do so far is to identify some of the positions attempting to account for artistic behavior and some of the studies describing the more salient characteristics of the culturally diadvantaged. Now I would like to examine a few studies that have attempted to put the two together.

Let me start with the confession that after having put two research assistants, one librarian, and myself on the job of finding empirical research studies on the uses of art and the results of using art with culturally disadvantaged children, we were able to identify only a handful of studies.[18] There are, to be sure, dozens of essays on art and the disadvantaged, and scores of projects are currently under way, but very little has been done in the way of research. One cannot, after searching the literature, fail to be impressed with the amount of work to be done. Indeed, the many programs that are now functioning might be made even more useful if skillful evaluation techniques could be employed to assess their consequences.

June McFee,[19] in an effort to help teachers understand the backgrounds, the values, and the way in which culturally disadvantaged children use their time, had art teachers conduct a survey of 287 children in eight classes of the poorest school districts in Phoenix, Arizona. In the population 63 percent of the subjects were of Mexican origin, 25 percent were Negro, and the remainder white or Philippine. McFee and the teachers found that most of the students' leisure time was spent in passive entertainment -- watching television or movies. The group most frequently watched cartoons and crime and western stories. When they were asked, students indicated that they did not understand why they went to school; apparently parents had not provided explanations regarding the function and importance of education. When students were asked to check a list of values they considered most important, 60 percent indicated "Be happy," "Work hard," "Use your head," and "Help others." Forty-five to 50 percent of the students checked "Do what the family wants," "Work in groups," "Work when it's quiet," and "Use your feelings and enjoy life." The attributes checked last were "Getting ahead of others" and "Working when it's noisy."

What is significant to me about McFee's study are not the findings, but the method. Asking teachers to talk with students in order to learn about their values and aspirations is a practice that would be useful to teachers not only for understanding the values and interests of the disadvantaged but the advantaged students as well.

In an effort to understand the effect of child rearing practices on children's attitudes and behavior in art, Alper, Blaine, and Adams[20] studied the finger painting behavior of lower- and middle-class children. Speculating that there are differences among mothers of various social classes regarding their child-training practices -- especially toilet training -- Alper, Blaine, and Adams attempted to determine whether such differences in child-rearing would manifest themselves in the child's willingness to use finger paint, in the amount of time he is willing to use it, whether he uses his finger or his whole hand, whether he uses browns or blacks as well as other colors when given a choice. The study revealed that lower-class children are more willing to use finger paints than middle-class children, that they use the whole hand and smear more frequently, and that they use warm colors more often. Alper, Blaine, and Adams conclude from their study, which is far more detailed than I can present here, that early child-rearing practices -- especially toilet-training -- affect the child's willingness to use certain art media and that attitudes toward cleanliness affect the child's willingness to engage in tasks such as this.

Eisner[21] conducted a study that had as its goal the formulation of a visual and verbal scale that would be useful for classifying children's drawings in relation to their developmental level regarding the use of space. The scale, once developed, was then used to assess the developmental drawing characteristics of approximately 1100 culturally advantaged and culturally disadvantaged elementary-school children.

One group of children came from plush upper-middle-class suburbs, the other group came from slum or near-slum communities in Chicago -- about 60 percent of this group received ADC. Approximately 125 children from each socioeconomic group were selected at grades one, three, five, and seven. Each child was given a new box of crayons and a piece of Manila paper 9"x 12" in dimension, and was asked to draw a picture of what he does in the schoolyard before school, after school, or during recess. After the drawings were made and collected, they were sorted independently by two judges using the fourteen-category visual and verbal scale that had been constructed. Inter-judge agreement using the fourteen categories was 72 percent. After the drawings on which there was disagreement were identified, they were discussed jointly by the judges and assigned to a category if agreement could be reached. Agreement on the joint judging when combined with independent judgings rose to over 90 percent.

Before describing the results of the study allow me to describe what I expected to find. I expected that children from culturally disadvantaged homes would not differ significantly in drawing development from those who were advantaged, because I thought that their visual, aromatic, and tactile environment was richer and more complex than the environment of children who came from a home where there is a place for everything and where everything is in its place, and where mama gets rid of aromas and odors. The qualitative life of the culturally disadvantaged child, I believed, was richer than his advantaged contemporary. Thus I expected, if anything, that the drawing he made would be more advanced and complex in character.

The use of the scale that was developed allowed me to plot the average developmental levels displayed in the treatment of space for children at each of the four grade levels -- first, third, fifth, and seventh. The data were analyzed by sex as well as by socio-economic status, and because I was interested in the relationship between discursive language and perception as evidenced through drawings, the Gates Reading Vocabulary Test was administered to fifth and seventh grade subjects and correlations between reading and drawing scores were computed. Some of the findings were surprising. For one, the culturally disadvantaged group was not above or even equal in level of drawing development to the culturally advantaged children -- even at the first grade. Not only were the culturally advantaged ahead, they were so far ahead that the disadvantaged group did not achieve the first-grade performance level of the culturally advantaged group until they were in the fifth grade.

Another surprise was that unlike the gap which increases between the advantaged and disadvantaged over time in academic areas, the gap between the two groups reduces in size over time and the disadvantaged eventually catches up to the advantaged group by the seventh grade. Whether this is a function of maturation or lack of instruction in art is difficult to determine.

When performance was analyzed by sex, no differences were found for either group of students at any grade level.

When the reading-vocabulary scores were correlated with drawing scores at the fifth and seventh grades coefficients of .47 (N=256) at the fifth, and .18 (N=165) at the seventh grades emerged. The difference in the size of the coefficients can be accounted for by the reduced variability at the seventh grade level.

This study provides additional evidence regarding the cognitive consequences of deprivation. It underscores what psychologists such as Goodenough and Harris have already advanced: skills of perception and detail in drawing are very much related to the intelligence the child brings to bear upon the problem. And this intelligence, as Dave, Wolf, and Bloom have demonstrated, is clearly related to the environment in which the child lives.

In another study of the relationship between drawing and cultural deprivation, Tourenso, Greenberg, and Davidson[22] analyzed drawings of their families made by 111 children from five fourth-grade classes in a severely depressed urban area. By asking the child to circle himself in his drawings of his family, and by analyzing the presence of hands, the proportion of the head to the body, the clothing drawn, and facial expression, the authors were able to compare differences between students grouped by sex in relation to good, average, and poor scores on the Metropolitan Primary Reading Test. The striking finding of the study was that virtually all poorly achieving boys, unlike poorly achieving girls, draw a "self" in which some major part of the body such as the head, trunk, limbs, hands with fingers, or feet were omitted. Ninety-three percent of the boys omitted one or more of these parts as compared to 70 percent of the girls. The authors explain this difference on the basis of research evidence which indicates that Negro girls have better opportunities to develop a positive self-concept than do Negro boys. And, in general, girls in each of the three groups had higher scores indicating a healthier personality development.

A number of researchable areas and problems emerge as one reflects on the type of inquiries that might yield useful products. We need, for example, to determine the extent to which growth in perception through work in the arts affects the culturally disadvantaged child's ability to read. We need to understand the effects of success in art activities upon the child's self-concept as it relates to school in general. Studies dealing with creativity have suggested that those trained in the arts have high toleration for ambiguous material. It may be useful to know whether the same relationship holds for young children and whether tolerance for ambiguity, if developed through work in the arts, facilitates cognitive growth in general.

Studies dealing with analytic as contrasted to systematic approaches to the arts curriculum need to be undertaken. Do students learn more rapidly in art when they use, for example, a limited palette before using one that presents a full range of color? What would happen to school performances of the culturally disadvantaged child if a major portion of the first three school years -- say 60 percent -- were devoted to the study of and participation in the arts? Perhaps it would be useful to postpone work in several academic areas until the latter part of the third or fourth grades.

These questions as they now stand are not adequately posed to guide researchers, but they do represent some of the areas in which researchable problems might be posed.

As one looks back at the research available on art and the disadvantaged one is impressed with the need for both speculation and research. Speculation is needed because practitioners cannot wait for researchers to come up with the right answers. Answers through research come slowly; in addition, researchers tend to ask different questions. Yet research is needed if we are to have confidence in our beliefs.

Combining both speculation and research, it appears that work in the arts has at least three contributions to make to the culturally disadvantaged child. The first deals with the cognitive contributions of art activity, the second with the cathartic or therapeutic aspects of art, and the third with the use of art as an agent of value-change.

As an instrument for the development of cognitive skills, it appears that instruction in the arts which aims at the development of perceptual skills might contribute to the development of the complex and subtle view of reality that culturally disadvantaged children fail to acquire. Insofar as an education in the arts develops the power of the eye to see, the ear to hear, and the hand to feel, such education is likely to provide the child with the raw material for concept-formation. A program in the arts aimed at the development of such skills, which for young children is rare, should be implemented and evaluated to demonstrate the relationship between growth in art and growth in other cognitive skills.

The therapeutic contributions of the arts rest upon their relationship to cathectic and affective behavior. That the arts provide for non-verbal expression is almost tautological. The arts also apparently provide for pre-verbal expression since they reflect and give form to those ineffable images and feelings through which a child with limited verbal skills can find release. The arts apparently provide not only an important source for understanding the child's behavior but a source through which satisfactions not achieved in academic areas may be won.

Finally, the arts provide a vehicle for value-change for those culturally disadvantaged youth who are also socially alienated and who need desperately to reconstruct the image they hold of themselves and of others. This potential contribution of the arts is not unique to art; it develops from the pride one takes in work well done. And it develops in the ties of affection that are formed when a sensitive teacher of art begins to establish a rapprochement between the alienated child and the society. We need programs which will use the arts in the way described, and we need research that will demonstrate their effectiveness.

There is, as I have indicated earlier, much work to be done. This conference I hope will provide a fruitful beginning.

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EXCERPTS FROM THE DISCUSSION WITH MR. EISNER

Audience: I remember a conference at Berkeley, some years ago. Somehow or other, we concluded that at three years old, it's possible a child can affirm himself and maintain it through a lifetime, if he's given the freedom to express himself, through art. At three years old, and we learned in addition that children have a universal language. Well, now, if this be true, then in our exploration here, are we leaving out this aspect -- that children three years old, given the freedom to express themselves, can affirm themselves? Then, in adulthood, I think we can reasonably assume that he is a sensitive person and a person who is more likely to be a creative person.

Mr. Eisner: I think there have been many myths that have been generated about children and about art. One is -- and this is an opinion -- that somehow, if you set up the conditions where the kid can somehow unlock himself, things will come to a happy end, that the cream will come to the top, that the kid will be realized -- his self-realization will be manifested, will come to fruition. He will be actualized. Now, if there is one thing that I think we have learned through a whole variety of studies, it is that what people are and what they are able to do is, in large measure, a function of the kind of experiences that they've had, the kind of opportunities to learn that they are provided with -- we can make learning difficult and we can make learning easy. What a person is able to do cognitively is, in a large measure, a function of how he has been instructed. Perception is not given; it's achieved. To see something is an achievement. We look without seeing. We listen without hearing. Learning to listen to a string quartet by Beethoven and to hear it is a very complex behavior and the teacher, it seems to me, has an exceedingly important role to play. He is providing the kinds of tools and devices, instructional procedures, that will make the qualities that constitute art apparent to children. I attended, if you will forgive me, a conference in Washington on the uses of the newer media that was held in December and one of the things that was apparent to me as I left the conference was that there were no newer media in art education, that the single-concept film is not new, the pencil-pen is not new, that slides are not new, you know -- this is what I saw. We need things, including all kinds of simple and often inexpensive things. We need paintings, for example, with transparent overlays, so that youngsters can identify lights and darks and mark them and provide feedback to the teacher. There are so many very obvious devices which can be very potent instructional tools for the teacher, that teachers desperately need, which would not gather dust, as the curriculum syllabi tend to do, at the bottom of the closet. The point I am trying to make is that the development of perception can be facilitated through the environment. The teacher has a very important role to play.

Audience: I'd like to ask a question. We were talking about very young children, seemingly, an awful lot. Are we going to stay at that age group or shall we talk about some of the teen-agers, where we are really having difficulty?

Audience: But the happening is at three years old, man. Where you're going to change something, you are going to change it -- otherwise it's going to be just like it is. You're going to always have slums. You're going to always have poverty. If you don't start right there, where you've got to start at.

Audience: I've got a problem in my mind, which has nothing to do with what Noah was talking about. This is an august body of people here to deal with problems, and the thing I've been thinking about is the whole idea of research. First of all, just for the sake of argument, I would disagree with your whole approach. But my question is: what kind of research can be useful for our purposes? And of course, I have a terrible thing to say. I feel like throwing out research and I want people to tell me why we shouldn't and what kind of research is helpful and how we can develop means of looking at programs and evaluating them. You know, this is really simple-minded, but I almost feel this whole thing is like a justification of something that we all know, something very essential to the process of growth in the child, and I feel as if we're sort of justifying the existence of the creative process.

Audience: No.

Audience: How do you know that art does anything for the child in the way of the development of creativity?

Audience: Well, I see it every day.

Audience: I don't see it every day. Now what do we do? What kind of evidence do we appeal to, when your intuition tells you one thing and my intuition tells me something else?

Audience: I'd have to trust mine.

Audience: That is the problem. [LAUGHTER]

Mr. Eisner: Without the ability to delineate or to be able to make discriminatory perceptions, certain people are lacking in certain skills that are showing up in their reading habits or other places. They are disadvantaged anyhow -- the one-fifth of our population that lives in poverty. But what about the other four-fifths of our society? Who taught me to appreciate a painting or an art, or who taught you or who taught most of us here? I doubt that we learned it in the public schools -- if we have it, that is. Only 15 -- only 15 percent of all high school students take as much as a year of art. I am talking about the visual arts. I don't know exactly what it is for music. The people who are best prepared to teach art reach the smallest number of students, and the people who are least prepared reach the largest number of students. The teaching of art, by and large, in this country is in the hands of an elementary-school teacher who may have taken a course in art history or art appreciation or art education in college. In addition, we have developed this cult about talent, you see -- this issue, for example, about unfolding and development. This argument runs like this: That is you leave the child alone and provide a stimulating environment and materials, he will somehow come to use these materials artistically and aesthetically and his growth in art will be facilitated. But by the time they go into the fifth grade, their dissatisfaction has increased to the point that they recognize that they cannot draw well, that they do not know how to paint. And because the teacher has been unprepared to provide instruction, she is not in a position to help this child. In order to explain away what has happened, we introduce the idea of talent. The idea of talent runs like this: There are dichotomously distributed traits that people possess. Either they are talented or they are not talented. We don't say this about intelligence. We don't say this about personality traits. But with talent we set up a self-fulfilling hypothesis: If the kid can't draw it's because he doesn't have talent, and the kid who does draw, it's because he does have talent. So that we reinforce the youngster's inability to draw by explaining it away with a concept. In other words, what I am suggesting is that if we had deliberately set about making it hard for children to grow in art, we couldn't do a better job. Not only that, but the school has conditioned this child to disregard the importance of art.

Audience: You made the distinction between doing and undergoing. The Progressive movement brought the doing, but not the undergoing. And the undergoing requires that one recognize the relationship between act and consequence. This is one of the things that bothered me, by the way, about the question of participation. Participation is not simply a matter of having kids push around art media. Participation is being able to recognize the relationship between what one does and the consequences that ensue and so much in the teaching of art has lacked the undergoing aspect of it. There can be a great deal of participation in listening to a symphony, for instance, or there can be none. It's more than simply being emotionally involved; it's more than, I believe, a matter of catharsis, a vomiting out of one's feelings.

Chairman: I am interested in the agents of change. How do you get people to change? How do you get curricula changed? How do you get school systems to change? School values reflect social values. School values don't stand up themselves. So the disadvantaged as well as the advantaged must learn how to read, write, and do arithmetic. Now, introduce art. And you have a problem. Therefore, I was extremely interested in your research and your questions because I feel that only through competent research can we start convincing ourselves first and then the community second that art can be important, if it is. And we could only find this out through research. Now if, by having a curriculum in art in the early grades, say one, two, and three -- the grades which Piaget and Bruner and Bloom say are the important ones -- will this affect the so-called self-image, and as a result, achievement in other subject areas? And until we get to this point, I don't think we have a darned leg or argument to stand on.

Audience: That in principle is a researchable problem.

Audience: To carry that one step further: art becomes -- not an adjunct to the curriculum or something that soothes the little savages and then you send them back to their work -- but it becomes a tool in the learning process. So much emphasis is now being placed upon reading. Wouldn't it be nice if they licensed reading specialists who were artists, and artists to help the reading specialists? Music and art exist not only in and of themselves but as basic tools for learning to read, to express oneself dramatically and creatively. And I don't think that research is necessary to justify the existence of art in the schools, but I do think research is vital in establishing better methods for its teaching. The teaching of music is fifty to one hundred years behind the times when you compare it with the revolution that has taken place in mathematics and science. The identification of creative individuals earlier in the process, the development of more talented people than we now produce -- we can certainly find better ways to establish some standards in artistic education and in criticism of the arts. And also, what are the combinations of institutions that we can put together that will give us more powerful means for carrying out all of these answers we find through research?

Mr. Eisner: For years, we've used a model of the art teacher as an artist. That is, we've seen the teacher of art as being an artist-teacher. I would suggest that it might be useful to entertain the idea of the critic as the teacher of art, as well as the artist as a teacher of art.

Audience: This is a very interesting point, Elliot, because you seem to shift an emphasis from doing, it seems to me, to the critical nature of experiential input.

Mr. Eisner: Yeah, I say this as an adjunct, not as a replacement. Let me put it this way. Many of the people whom I have had contact with, who are teachers of art, indeed who are artists, don't do very well when it comes to the problem of talking about art. And do you know, grunting is not enough.

Audience: Some of the discussion bothers me. First of all, visual perception and the ability to see are not necessarily the visual arts. Another thing: just as some scientists are not articulate, some artists are not. On the other hand, in the last few years, I have watched any number of artists -- poets, other writers, painters -- reach children in a way that is impossible through other avenues, because they understand the creative process and the child understands it when the artist can convey it. So I think that you can't speak in generalities.

Mr. Eisner: My own personal view regarding art is, I think, very much in line with John Dewey's conception: that art is a quality of human experience that people have, and this quality of human experience pervades experience in many walks of life, in making a table, in fixing a car, in looking at a painting. The difference is that in a great work of art we have the subject matter through which this kind of experience can be provided in its most vital and intense form. Now, in this view, since a work of art is a quality of experience undergone, if we want to provide people with that kind of experience which we call art, we had better attend to the development of those perceptual and cognitive skills which make that experience possible. Now, the other thing that you said about the inarticulate artist: artists insofar as they are artists don't have to utter a word; but artists insofar as they are teachers are engaged in art education. There are two orders of business involved here. One is making a work of art and the other one is talking about it. If you want to know what art is, I would argue, you don't ask an artist.

Audience: I must say, Elliot, that I detect a note of hostility toward artists. [LAUGHTER.] I think that there are more artists who can talk well than those who merely grunt. Perhaps the issue is that the artists don't talk the way you want them to talk, but rather talk about their work in quite another way. Because the average artist, in talking about his work, is not going to talk about it in the language that you are used to. He can talk about it in the language of an experience and a view of life that he has.

Audience: I work in settlement houses, camps, etc., and I think the substance of your remarks related to formal education institutions. One of the things that I would like to know is what differences do, indeed, exist between informal institutions and formal institutions? In our settlement, where we work with the poorest of the poor, we are always amazed that when they come into our setting all kinds of fantastic things occur -- these kids produce all kinds of things in the entire area of arts and I include music, theatre, drama, expression, play acting and so on, and the teachers always comment: "How can they do good here at four o'clock, and not do it there at two o'clock?" Just by accident, we involved a movie producer -- a man by the name of Paul Heller, who produced the film "David and Lisa" -- and a couple of artists who decided they were going to come down and just do some work. They don't have the faintest notion of curriculum building; they know nothing about continuity, sequence, synthesis. All they have done is experience the kids and they've given truly of themselves as they are, as artists, integrated people. When Paul Heller talks, I don't understand what he is talking about. The kids don't care. They are communicating with him and they've done all kinds of fantastic things. The kids are producing a film. I've seen it. They are actually writing and producing a film. The kids who are doing this thing are all school dropouts, but they are producing like crazy, this film about what a rotten, lousy neighborhood they live in -- the rats, the roaches, the drunks lying on the street and so forth. And some of the artists have got the kids doing stuff that is fantastic. And isn't there a terrible class bias that Dr. Eisner brings and we bring into this whole situation and discussion? In a conversation I had with Kenneth Clark, he said, "For crying out loud, if we keep on looking down on these kids, you know, calling them disadvantaged kids and making them believe that they are crippled, more crippled than they really are, more defective than they really are, what we are going to do is create a definition of them that will impede what we do with them."

Mr. Eisner: Well, I suppose different institutions, such as social agencies, have different kinds of objectives than do schools, in part. But to the notion that somehow there is a class bias operating on my part, I'd say: Indeed there is a bias, if a bias means a value. The educational enterprise is a normatively oriented enterprise. One cannot educate a child in no direction. If there are no standards, if there is no conception of what is better as against what is worse, if there is no conception of what is more adequate cognitive ability and less adequate cognitive ability, if there is no conception, indeed, of psychological and mental health, there can be no education.

Audience: What really is quite disconcerting is this: If our values don't mesh with the value systems or with the life experiences or the needs of these families and kids that we're working with, then no matter what you do in the formal educational institution, you are going to lose these kids. There isn't enough data to indicate that we have a right to invoke a value and to say that the middle-class value system is the best in the world. I happen to agree with it for myself and my kids and I'd like to see all culturally disadvantaged kids move into middle-class life. It's not a bad life. You know, you're in debt and it's fine. [LAUGHTER] That's fine. I am for that. But every child needs some opportunity to express life as he lives it and views it and experiences it.

Mr. Eisner: Don't they do that all the time?

Audience: No, they don't. Elliot, listen. Let me give you an example. Our kids step over drunks, our Head Start kids, as they come into our agency -- we are two blocks away from the

Bowery, and the drunks happen to like our block. Suddenly, it struck me. I went up to the room and told the teacher and said, "Do the kids ever talk about this? Do their paintings ever reflect this? Their acting?" The teacher said, "No, they don't." Then I went to make some home visits, and there were more roaches in those kitchens than you have hairs on your head. Almost half of our Head Start kids have had experiences in their lives of being bitten by rats. I asked the teacher at a meeting, and learned that the kids don't talk about drunks or cockroaches or rats. I wondered why. Is it because these kids are blocking out, repressing, and so forth and so on? When the teacher, appropriately and not to create alarm, began to understand this thing and moved into the situation and had some of these youngsters discuss this thing, this quality of their human experience began to be expressed, in very interesting ways. Very hidden. With much pain. Much passion. Much hostility. Incidentally, the one who was able to release this was one of our artist friends who is twenty-six years old, has no educational training, just related in experience to these kids. They experienced him, and together they worked on a big mural.

* * *

USING THE ARTS IN LOW-INCOME AREAS

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Introducing and promoting art programs in poverty areas throughout the United States is not merely for art's sake but primarily to provide art as a basic instrument for better living. The poor, and particularly the Negro poor, have been denied entrance into the mainstream of our society. They have been exposed to formulate their goals and purposes. Thus, the "bopster," "hood," "hustler," "dope pusher," because of seeming affluence, assume an exalted place in the community and especially in the eyes of youth.

We now firmly believe that a more positive set of values can be provided through the arts. Art, if properly utilized and focused, can result in a positive and productive expression of human behavior.

Fortunately, in some quarters, although not enough by far, the arts are beginning to be increasingly recognized as a vital component in the over-all effort to build "The Great Society." However, most of the poor population in these United States is rarely touched by established art institutions. We must begin to understand that non-existent or limited means of cultural expression is one reason for ghetto alienation and isolation.

J. P. Clark in an article in American Sociological Review offers a definition of alienation as:

> "feelings of meaninglessness, powerlessness, belonglessness, being manipulated, social and self isolation. The alienation is the degree to which man feels powerless to achieve the role he has determined to be rightfully his in specific situations."

M. Seaman goes deeper into the meaning of alienation when he states in American Sociological Review:

> "At the present time in all social sciences the very synonyms of alienation have a foremost place in the studies of human relations. Investigations of the unattached, the marginal, the obsessive, the normless and the isolated individual, all testify to the central place occupied by the hypothesis of alienation in contemporary social sciences."

One way or another, the theme of alienation dominates much of "minority" literature today, especially the works of authors like Ralph Ellison and James Baldwin.

These insulated ethnic and racial islands must be broken down. The arts could prove to be one of the connecting tissues needed to make this a truly homogenous society.

The power of the arts can motivate personal growth and development -- it can serve to generate understanding among divergent groups and individuals. No matter where a person is on the socio-economic scale, he is "culturally out of it" if his experiences are confined to narrow ethnic or professional recreational circles.

Almost every community in America today is faced with the conundrum of finding ways to bring divergent groups together for common goals. The arts allow for a common meeting ground fostering better understanding and respect for other people and their cultures. The arts take us one step beyond by awakening new insights, releasing imagination and energy, and thus building new avenues of acceptance between people of different ethnic backgrounds. The arts have been seen to provide new motivation for learning, changes in role models, and an uplifting of the spirit just to mention a few of its functions. Most now agree that the arts are no longer the preserve of any group -- any minority or elite.

When developing any community arts program, we constantly rediscover that no one method applies to every local situation. Program content should always have priority over slick sophisticated facilities and equipment. Of course, good facilities are most desirable. However, well-designed programs, sensible goals, and meaningful objectives are indeed the essential ingredients.

While performing-art centers do offer exposure to the arts, active participation is usually accorded only the very talented few. Active participation should become an integral part of any program in order to include more of the resident population in a more meaningful way. This can be achieved by developing community art centers. In such centers, active participation helps make it possible to discover, or uncover, new modes of expression which lie dormant in many poor communities throughout the nation. However, we must be ever aware that the test of a culture is not only in its ability to re-create and perform past and accepted works of art, but also in its ability to produce those new, original works of art which harbor environmental reflections.

While art programs for the poor must aim to provide a measure of cultural enrichment to otherwise deprived or depressed segments of our population, inherent cultural expression must be taken into consideration by the program designers. Anyone familiar with the living styles of minority groups knows of the vital cultural patterns which already exist. One has only to move through East Harlem or Central Harlem on a weekend night and hear and see the unrestrained music and dance of the Puerto Rican and Negro to know what I mean.

A real achievement, in my opinion, is to maintain and foster respect in each minority group for its own cultural milieu, while finding adequate and appropriate outlets for expression within the totality of the larger culture.

The answer to poverty cannot be to make the poor more secure in their poverty, isolation, and alienation, but rather to help them lift themselves over and out of the ruts poverty has dug for them.

Who Are The Poor

Allison Davis states in his book, Social Class Influence Upon Learning, that

> "there are certain common behaviors that all Americans possess but these are very few in comparison to the great variety of cultural beliefs, acts and values which have been differentiated by the various degrees of social strata in the U. S. A."

He states further that social class constitutes only one of the systems of social position or rank which exists in the American society. He cites three main systems of status as basic categories that tend to restrict the cultural (and therefore the learning) environment of individuals. They are: 1) social classes; 2) ethnic foreign-born groups; and 3) color castes. When thinking of color caste there is an immediate tendency to think about the Negro group alone, but there is also the Oriental, the American Indian, the Mexican, and most recently, the Puerto Rican.

Davis goes on to say that color castes are the most severely sanctioned form of social stratification in America. He made this point in relationship to the learning processes of a child, pointing out that a child locked into a caste, so to speak, is more or less pre-destined to certain adversities. If a child is confined to a slum culture, then, more than likely, that is the only culture he will learn. This is not to state that everything learned in a slum culture is bad or not useful -- a fact that many "professionals" working in such areas need to discover.

Behavior which the wider culture designates as being improper may be "making it" in slum culture. In terms of style, language, mode of dress, a whole set of circumstances and relationships exist which call for special kinds of behavior -- behavior which is very often not seen or used in the wider culture.

To a great extent the ghetto-dweller's habits and values must differ from the larger society if they are to be realistic for him and his equally deprived peers.

The poor are usually cut off and excluded from most of the planning and dialogue affecting their community, and hence have little confidence in "do-gooders." That is a very important point. More and more the poor are asking what is the real intent of the "Establishment." Does it really want to help change conditions in the ghetto -- or is it all a farce?

In Northern slum areas all too many appear to have reached the conclusion that the "War on Poverty" is rather hopeless. Such is evidenced by the many recent expressions of open hostility against the larger society generated by the feeling that programs do not reflect community needs. In Southern poverty areas, at least until recently, there was an almost fervent hope that the Federal government and other groups from the white world would step in to see justice done. Such faith is beginning to dwindle.

We witness increasing unrest in Southern cities each day. Mississippi two years ago would not have seen Negroes openly resorting to violence. The fear or intimidation that long held the Negro in "his place" is slowly losing its effectiveness. When one realizes that he, or she, has nothing more to lose, many fears seem to fade. This is what is happening in the hearts and minds of Negroes and impoverished minorities throughout the nation today.

The chronic poor have no connections. They are neither members of, nor have any influence on, the policy-making boards of the schools, on welfare, police, urban renewal, or any community planning. They are not owners, belong to no significant organization, have no union, and have no power. In short, they are politically disconnected and psychologically emasculated.

Poverty, which could be described as a condition of isolation from the mainstream of society, must be attacked from within even more than from without.

Today, very often one sees elaborate programs designed for the poor by an outside agency and which the poor avoid like the plague. Yet the agency seldom pulls back to re-examine the reasons why. As long as a program from outside the neighborhood is projected and administered by those basically outside the neighborhood, there will be rejection.

Trust is another big factor in working with the poor. The poor do not trust most agencies, public or private. It is not just a matter of increasing communications, it is a matter of eliminating mistrust, alienation, suspicion, hostility, and even hate. In regard to the Negro, whites can no longer simply come along and find people grateful and happy to have them.

The Ghetto

Dr. Kenneth B. Clark states in Dark Ghetto:

> "The most concrete fact of the ghetto is its physical ugliness, the dirt, the filth, the neglect. The parks are seedy with lack of care. The streets are crowded with people and refuse. In all of Harlem there is no museum, no art gallery, no art school, no sustained little theatre group; despite the stereotype of the Negro as an artist there are only five libraries - but hundreds of bars, hundreds of churches, and scores of fortune tellers. Everywhere there are signs of fantasy, decay, abandonment and defeat. The only constant characteristic is a sense of inadequacy. People seem to have given up in the little things that are so often the symbol of the larger things."

Although Clark points to Harlem, this statement describes conditions in almost every poor area in the United States.

Is there any wonder in this TV age, where the good things of life are constantly shown, that tension and anger exist in most Negro communities? The old ways that have been imposed are no longer accepted. Alienation, existent but dormant, now mushrooms to the surface in forms that shock the white world.

In the South, where the influence of Christianity remains relatively strong, the Negro's revolt has, for the most part, taken the form of non-violent action in the struggle for human rights and full American citizenship. In Northern urban areas, particularly among younger groups, Christianity has lost its tranquilizing effect and the revolt has become violent and destructive.

We must, therefore, strive to stimulate activities in the Negro ghettos that are directed toward affirmation of a cultural and historic lineage. We must re-involve Negro intellectuals and artists to accept this task as their responsibility as part of the black community.

The Poverty Programs

To date, the Government's anti-poverty program has not reached the masses of poor. Nor has it met their collective needs. Of course, the War on Poverty is helping a number of individuals, and that cannot be minimized.

However, in too many cities the length of time a project has been in operation has much to do with measuring its success. A significant impact cannot be made on a problem centuries old in ten months or even two years. Permanence and realism are two prime ingredients of any program.

In every poverty area I visited during a recent nationwide tour there was obvious bitterness and discontent among the poor who felt they were being given a "hustle" -- a "snow job." This attitude was particularly evident among youths between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five. Many felt the poverty program was over-sold initially, and false hopes have now given way to hopelessness and cynicism.

Teaching Art In The Ghetto

Life in a ghetto, a low-income deprived area, can be quite dreary, unhappy, and certainly visually unaesthetic. The ancient, dirty, uncared for dwellings, the streets which are not adequately cleaned, the over-flowing waste-paper baskets, the lack of cheerful new stores and public facilities -- all constitute a bleak future for those who reside in the ghetto. From just a visual point, the slum child's life is not very appealing.

More and more, I've come to believe that schools can have a very large part to play in rehabilitating the multitude of humans living in these areas.

Specifically, I think the job of the art teacher in a low-income area is one which must primarily involve the emotions, and then the intellect. The art teacher can offer hope, a chance to dream, an opportunity to create things which no one else has done and above all give meaningful direction to the expression of feelings. A devoted teacher can use any subject as a means of teaching a child about the larger world which surrounds him. The teacher can help add the "soft touch" to a child's life and awaken curiosity in a myriad of positive ways.

However, before a child can be taught he must be reached. Through use of art media such as music, dancing, and painting (non-verbal communication), a young person can be tapped at whatever level of development he may have achieved physically, mentally, or emotionally.

It has been frequently stated that a child from a low-income area enters school with certain disadvantages. The result of this "knowledge" has been to focus on such children as being "culturally deprived" or "disadvantaged" and to suggest major programs, mostly on the pre-school level.

Other researchers, like Frank Riessman in "The Culturally Deprived Child, " have viewed the low-income child as being not so much "culturally deficient" as "culturally different. " He explains much of the excessive rate of school failure as inability to cope with a dominant middle-class orientation in the school system. The dominance of this orientation has an adverse effect on these children, making it extremely difficult for them to compete and to achieve any real success, while at the same time it devalues any possible attributes which may result from the differences in backgrounds.

We must begin to focus more on the positive attributes and potential strength found in these children and try to make contact from that point. The orientation of the learning situation should be one which respects these attributes, styles, and skills. Therefore the selection of educational materials should stem from the children's own culture, thereby giving that culture the importance it deserves.

Schools could be among the most ideal institutions to begin bringing the impoverished population up to par culturally, providing those responsible recognize that all elements involved must interest a wide variety of groups.

The need now is great for one or several interested agencies, public or private, to undertake long-term studies to determine what a coherent, sustained involvement in the arts could do for both young and old in this country.

In view of the racial turmoil gripping our nation, it should be realized that something else is needed besides just a job and good housing. A job and good housing can not make the human being whole. The arts and the humanities should not merely be a pleasant ornament during leisure time. On the contrary, they should serve as a passport for entry into a fuller and richer life.

In my trips across the nation I became more convinced than ever that we must focus on our youth. Studies show that poverty in America is virtually an inherited condition and that it soon becomes a perpetuated system. Statistics show that in the United States of America, the wealthiest nation in the world, one out of four children lives in poverty.

While there is much talk denigrating today's teenagers, there is little recognition of their resourcefulness, courage, and positive aggressiveness. Channelling this energy and allowing expression through the arts could well become the basis for significant change in helping break the cycle of emotional poverty and provide a sound base for constructive initiative.

The HARYOU Arts Program In Central Harlem

The HARYOU arts program maintained workshop classes in churches and public and private community centers throughout the Central Harlem area. During the first year this program serviced over 1,000 youths in 120 classes per week in sessions running from two to four hours each. The workshop classes were divided into two main categories: 1) workshops which provided intensive training for stipend youth; these were usually conducted on an intermediate level and 2) introductory classes which were offered to the community at large through the various centers utilizing the more advanced of the aides as teacher assistants.

Elementary, intermediate, and advanced classes were given to the youth according to their interest, needs, and abilities. Courses were designed to give each student quality training and wholesome experiences in the art areas of his choice. Periodically, each workshop gave public and private presentations in the community, which served to encourage other young people to participate in the arts, both actively and as an audience.

However, when setting up the program, the teaching staff was all-important. We knew that in engaging art instructors it was necessary to be sure that they could win the essential student confidence to develop the transference needed in a teaching situation. Another important factor was that our whole approach was based on reaching youth throughout the community and in a sense, selling the idea of art involvement. It was quite different from the situation to which most of the instructors had been accustomed.

In the usual art school setting, one finds: 1) the student is coming to the instructor or to the art school which indicates a certain amount of motivation; 2) students are usually chosen on the basis of having past experience and training in a particular media. At HARYOU we had little of this working for us. Hence we sought instructors actively practicing their craft. Almost 95 percent of the artists on the staff were still painting in their studios, all our dance instructors were still performing, and those in theatre crafts were still in touch and involved in the professional theatre.

Few of the staff had degrees from fine arts schools. I found this to be an advantage since most of the teachers approached their groups with a kind of freshness. They had to search out new ways to reach students with a particular kind of background and were not bound by preconceived formality.

I saw, firsthand, people in low-income areas, subject to all the pathologies and problems of slum living, go through tremendous changes as a result of serious involvement in arts programs. Before the success of the HARYOU program, most thinking about art for poor people was on a very low level -- basket-weaving and handicraft training. If there was anything like dance, or drama, it was presented in a makeshift fashion. We were careful not to make this kind of mistake. We believed that people, particularly young people, despite their slum residence, could measure up and give quality renditions.

What were some results of this program after one year in demonstration? Particularly among those young people who were aides and whom we were able to watch closely and with whom we could establish better relations, we noticed almost immediate changes taking place in terms of role model, motivation, and general attitudes towards themselves and their community. The majority of the youth who came into these workshops directly from the streets reflecting many of the ills of the community were not able to verbalize their feelings. Many reflected the "hip style," hostility toward adults, and a blustery cavalier manner of acting out feelings. In one year we saw dramatic and positive changes in these youth and repeatedly tried to get additional funding to hook in a research component to measure the change.

The HARYOU program firmly established in my mind that we can take the disenchanted youngster and through the arts show him a way to ready himself to join the mainstream of society.

Of 150 students, six youngsters in the dance workshop received scholarships to further their study on the university level; five members of the band workshop are now attending Juilliard; ten of the students of the graphics and plastics unit are now attending various fine arts schools in and around the metropolitan area; and seven of the youngsters of the drama workshop have been in several professional plays Off-Broadway.

Most of the youngsters who, at the outset, were doing poorly in school, or who had already dropped out, were stimulated remarkably as a result of their workshop involvement. Many youngsters were spurred to pick up and finish high school and aspire to further study. In other cases youngsters in workshops such as journalism, still photography, film and sound, found the confidence to continue school although it was not necessarily in the area in which they had been involved.

HARYOU represented the first time that many of these youngsters were respected enough to be given an opportunity to ascertain their capabilities. So the confidence and achievement they gained in one area served as an incentive for achievement in others. This, I think, is one of the most important gains that comes from a serious involvement in art workshops.

I would like now to mention the problem of administration. To do so, I relate my experiences as an art administrator within a poverty-program structure. That we were tied in with an anti-poverty program depending on city and Federal funding was definitely not an asset. The HARYOU arts program was initially funded through the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Crime Prevention. At that time, two years prior to the official War on Poverty, we were attempting to design a multi-faceted program that would not only treat the symptoms but also get at some of the root causes. It was felt by the research staff that the arts certainly had a clear and important role within the over-all design.

The program unwound fairly successfully and we were beginning to make an impact. We then moved to official anti-poverty funding through OEO. This is when our trouble began. First of all, the total atmosphere and pressures that ultimately form around poverty programs just aren't conducive to the successful growth of an effective arts program. A basic reason is the position taken by the Office of Economic Opportunity concerning the arts. In their eyes, art just isn't vital enough -- it is lowest on the priority list. The question from officialdom constantly asked was: "What kind of jobs can you guarantee?" It reached the point where almost every program we developed had to have some kind of job component tacked on.

This concept of jobs as being the thing may have worked twenty years ago with the youth of my day. But it is not working today. The simple fact is that the degree of deterioration and alienation in low-income areas is at a point where much more is needed. Programs that reach deeper must be introduced. Many young men and women from poverty areas do not carry enough confidence with them into a job-training situation. We cannot build up that confidence and a positive self-image overnight or just because we want it that way. There is no magic which will enable us to set things straight as far as the poor are concerned on a crash-program basis.

We must also recognize that administration of art programs in slum areas can present a host of new problems. In terms of group dynamics, an arts program, if it is to be effective, must be run in a democratic way. One cannot use the standard social-work techniques and hope they will work. They will not, in my opinion. When you hire an artist you are engaging an individual who, by the very nature of his profession, has pulled away from many of the formal and accepted ways of doing things.

Of course, structure is vital but it should be more implied than rigidly explicit. Meetings must be geared and run differently. Greater attempts must be made by the social worker and the layman to understand the needs and ways of the artist. The artist also must be oriented to understand the needs of the agency he is working with. Complaints of misunderstanding are frequently heard from both sides and must be dealt with judiciously. If we are to succeed there must be resiliency as well as stamina.

Administering arts programs in low-income areas must involve a varied approach. We must be willing to recognize and respect the culture of those we are trying to reach. Too often arts programs are introduced with not enough thought of who they will serve. The demand for performance too often overrides the demand for quality, which comes only as a result of thorough and total experience.

Between June and August 1966, I had the most fortunate experience to interview approximately seventy-five people representing a wide cross-section of persons affiliated with various governmental, private, and public agencies. The purpose of these interviews was to ascertain their views on the role of the arts in the War on Poverty. I visited fifteen cities, both urban and rural, North and South. In most instances reactions to the arts in the "war" were positive.

However, I saw very few programs in operation to support this positive attitude. Many people said that, yes, we do need art programs and we do see them as being extremely valuable but what can we do about it? We can't get funding for such programs. This response came most frequently from persons affiliated with local anti-poverty programs. They constantly stated that the arts was not a priority program and that the focus was on "bread and butter" programs, meaning jobs and job training.

Many of the programs I saw lacked a certain dynamic quality in that they were making a stab at the arts but not a real concentrated effort to develop programs of high quality. They were more in the area of recreation.

Another problem is the funding procedure. It seems that there is a tendency on the part of a great many people to view arts as "filler" rather than a major component in an over-all program. Consequently, when the time comes to allocate funds for the coming year, the arts programs are the last on the list. In my interview with Margaret Berry, Director of the National Federation of Settlements, this factor was discussed at length.

Many ideas and attitudes were expressed while I was on tour and at this point I would like to present a brief synopsis of some.

Mr. James Banks, Director, United Planning Organization:

From his vantage point as director of the Washington metropolitan-area poverty program, Mr. Banks saw great value in arts programs. He felt that the arts, and particularly the theatre, play an important role in social reorganization.

A major point that Mr. Banks made is that there is a great need for people to act out their problems in more positive ways. The arts, in his opinion, provide such modes of expression. Mr. Paul Allen, UPO arts coordinator, has been working extensively in this area, dealing mainly with theatre. Although Mr. Banks is anxious to include other art forms, he is convinced the theatre is of prime importance.

As yet, UPO has not gone beyond the "role playing" stage. We discussed extending it on the basis of the HARYOU experience which he felt would be helpful. He had little knowledge of how this could be done since funding from OEO is a stickler.

UPO has set up, through the Neighborhood Advisory Committee, an art subcommittee. Constantly mentioned are the many requests from local communities for some sort of arts program. People who live in poverty are not just interested in jobs, housing, social welfare, etc. They are hungry for programs that allow for more individual achievement and expression. Most important is that the flow comes from within themselves and their community.

Mr. Patrick Healy, Director, Community Relations, Job Corps
Mrs. Joscelind Halstead, Assistant

Mr. Healy has been interested in adding a cultural component to the Job Corps for quite some time. He has seen great results with youth who have had this exposure; however, this has not been measured. One can only suggest and go along with what some of the camp directors and teachers say. Most art work has been carried out with volunteers. Because of the general anti-arts attitude found in Washington, D. C., Mr. Healy finds it hard to convince most Job Corps center directors that arts programs are valuable. He felt that a visiting-artist program would be helpful. Where such programs have been held, the enthusiasm of the boys was heartening.

Mrs. Halstead will be starting to organize a comprehensive arts program for centers in the near future. Where the additional funding will come from is yet to be discovered.

A camp situation is ideal since there is a captive audience which is perfect for controlled pilot projects.

Mr. Ralph Widner, Executive Director, Appalachia Regional
Commission

Mr. Widner was extremely happy to discuss the subject of "the poor in the arts." He felt that American art forms were being neglected for the established European forms. He doesn't believe you can introduce an outside concept of art that is completely foreign without first making an attempt at developing and identifying what exists locally. He mentioned many areas he knew that were full of natural artistic expression. He referred to these locations as "hollows." Mr. Widner stated that many of the people in these isolated areas are much more creative and inventive than those in the cities, including the middle-class.

One reason is their isolation and lack of urban entertainment forces them to depend on themselves, not only for entertainment but other things as well. Hence, these individuals search within themselves for answers. He also said that most people's idea of culture regarding the poor in these hollows was to "bring in the Pittsburgh Symphony" -- just like that. He was absolutely opposed to this. He agreed with my theory of nurturing the arts from within -- tapping the natural resources that exist there. Then perhaps one could introduce (with thought) that level which is termed "excellence" in the larger society.

Mr. Widner had strong feelings about the lack of respect for American art expression and referred to jazz as an example.

* * *

In conclusion, I stress that art has always been a forerunner, a conditioner of the human spirit. There is a great need today for people to have a place to dance, expand, portray, make visible the invisible messages, and to change them from the despairing, despondent people of yesterday and today to forward-looking people of tomorrow.

Through all of today's trials and tribulations, there is still a struggle on the part of many Americans for decency. As part of this same struggle we have seen emerge the War on Poverty. But from its inception it has been difficult to achieve important advances.

The struggle for power is edging out the struggle against poverty. Meanwhile, the poor still exist, most of them standing on sidelines watching in amazement and increasing bitterness.

Experiences in poverty areas across the nation are making it clear that we can no longer get by with providing simple leisure-time recreational or "holding" activities. On the contrary, we must establish those programs which foster an incentive to achieve competence and excellence.

It is important that art facilities be located in the heart of the depressed communities, and the individual must be stimulated to mobilize his own resources if programs are to have any kind of lasting effects on his life or neighborhood.

In terms of the arts, the value should not be placed on mere performance in a given art media, but rather in the meaning it comes to have to the individual in the building of confidence and the strengthening of capacities.

We must learn from past experiences so that we can break the destructive cycle in poverty areas. We who are interested in the arts have much to contribute in the way of philosophy, techniques and most important of all, we must believe in the rights, aspirations, and potential of the poor. We must help see to it that the poor are the real beneficiary of the anti-poverty war and not the politicians, the social agencies, and the various groups who claim to represent the poor. We must focus on the millions of men, women, and children who are suffering from the inhuman consequences of poverty and deprivation.

The multi-dimensions of poverty demand coordinated multi-faceted efforts and the tie between art and the full life is of primary importance.

Jane Addams, a most famous settlement house worker, stated:

> "The arts give an opportunity to revitalize the very art of living itself. It is the function of art to preserve in permanent and lovely forms those emotions and solaces which cheer life and make it kindlier, more heroic, and easier to comprehend. Art lifts the minds of men from the harshness and loneliness of their tasks, frees them from a sense of isolation, loneliness and hardship."

It is only through the arts that we can help people to search for the real meaning of their lives. Through art, horizons are broadened, a new motivation to learn is set in motion, outlet for energy is provided, and new outlooks on life itself are established.

The arts can become the bridge for communication between all segments of society. Through the arts the underexposed poor can acquire the cultural background essential to successful schooling in his early years and to enriched living in his adult life.

However, if we are really serious about going into poverty areas with art programs -- and it certainly is time for seriousness -- then we must use those standards which would be used in any middle- or upper-class neighborhood. Any arts program, to be successful, must be free to develop and to experiment as that particular program sees fit, and with a minimum of interference.

EXCERPTS FROM THE DISCUSSION WITH MR. EUELL

Audience: In the light of your recent experience in the HARYOU program and more recently your experience in interviewing people all over the country who are interested in the poverty program, where would you place priorities now, in light of the realities which we have to face? I am sure we are all realists enough to know that the funds aren't going to be immediately forthcoming.

Mr. Euell: Well, first of all, we sort of have a tendency to run past what already exists and there are operations or agencies operating in the community who could do a quality job if they had some support, like the settlements and all the Friends groups (by the way, these two agencies were the ones that I recommended to the endowment). And I don't think the approaches that we used five years ago can be effective now. And I'm not talking so much of the formal school setting. I am more and more convinced that what is happening in a settlement house should be connected to the schools in the neighborhood. I think no one group and no one style is going to make it. It has to be a whole host of styles if we're going to do anything at all. We no longer can go and say, "Well, we have the word. Here is the word." Because we don't have the word.

Audience: What are some of the factors that influence HARYOU's failure, say, to get into the schools in any significant way?

Mr. Euell: Well, we just couldn't get clearance. I don't want to blame the Federal anti-poverty people or even the city anti-poverty people completely, because we are up against a problem in selling the idea of the arts and I had that fight also with my own co-workers. And also, we don't talk too much about the political realities that we are faced with out there and how that affects what you're doing. For instance, what are some of the stresses that you have? The showcase idea -- you know, numbers. So, in designing the HARYOU art program, I felt that we should start out with a very small number of people, two or three hundred youths, or even less, so that we could develop a base, a strong base, with quality work being done and then spread it to the community. But there is that pressure, always, to produce, to justify yourself, and no artist and no arts program can operate successfully with that kind of pressure.

Audience: My experiences are the same as yours, but I think we ought to talk about politics on a number of different levels. One level relates obviously to the view of the funding agency, which is very crucial. O. E. O., as an example, made a decision down in Washington that they transferred to the region and then down to the local community, -- they made a decision that jobs and community action are high priorities. Then the entire system begins to operate against encouraging, supporting, allocating funds, or even expanding or approving the kind of programs that you described, and that's a very serious thing and we know that it is. There are a number of interesting and subtle problems. When you get two or more institutions in a given community who are competing for money, you've got a real problem. They've all got good arguments for keeping Head Start, say, in their bailiwick -- the board of education, the settlements, the people themselves. There is not enough money for all three to do it. Incidentally, in my community, the way they did work it out is they tried to distribute the limited funds to all three groups, but all three groups were unhappy because they don't get enough. [LAUGHTER] Finally, the last point, and it's one that confounds me and confuses me. I think that professionals, both social workers and educators, and maybe the community at large, have taken this War Against Poverty seriously and have not faced the fact that the poor haven't taken it seriously. Julian is right.

They think this is a large laugh. The Government obviously hasn't taken it seriously. So that this War on Poverty turns out to be not even a minor skirmish. Take this whole business of what's happening down in Washington now. If they spin Head Start off into the Office of Education and they spin off the work program to the Department of Labor, and the newspaper reports and the rumors tell us that Sargent Shriver is going to be losing a job very soon, and we know that 49 Congressmen have been elected who vote against the program, then the automatic implication of that is, "Let's not get involved, because it's going to lead nowhere."

Audience: I would like to comment on this problem of selling a program to the school systems. We are working in the New Mexico area, where we have the Spanish-American minority problem. And in our school systems, especially in the rural areas, there has been practically no exposure to any kind of art training or music training or drama training in the primary grades. And only recently has this been possible, through Title I, Title III, and Title IV funds, and through the Arts Commission of the state that has recognized the need for this kind of education. All of us who have been working in this field have discovered a tremendous resistance on the part of schools, because the superintendents of schools feel that these forces may be an encroachment on their prerogatives. They feel arts are suspect. They don't want outside agencies to come in. One of the things that would help very much would be to get some prestige from Washington -- backing from Washington -- for the kinds of things we want to do. We need also to do a tremendous press job in selling our program. We have to show that what we are doing is not to break down existing facilities and not make them look bad, but to give something that will give the schools prestige by participating. It's a very tricky business to sell arts to the schools.

Chairman: If I may interject here, because the question of politics is one with which I have had some experience, as the head of an urban university. A great many of the institutions within cities, in which expertise has traditionally been gathered, are now simply anachronistic in light of the changing character of the neighborhoods of the city. The problem is that the expertise I possess is completely unresponsive to the nature of the problem. When somebody came to us with a piece of the Federal money, for research, and the problem is the pattern of unemployment in the Borough of Brooklyn, we have to persuade a half dozen departments within our institutional framework that a collaborative effort is worthwhile. The institution is presided over by a board of trustees that in no manner reflects the realities of power changes in the community. In no manner whatsoever. You people in the arts, it seems to me, are just completely unrealistic about the nature of the problem to which we, together, have to address ourselves. The truth is that youth recreation, art, public education, narcotics, employment for teenagers, day-school care, clinics for the correction of speech and reading problems, are all one bundle of wax. And until insitituions, it seems to me, possessing the power that mine does -- multi-million dollar corporations with a vested interest in the city, multi-million dollar art institutions or music academies or museums or libraries with a vested interest in the city -- until these institutions face forthrightly the novelty, the novel challenge presented to their organizational structures, then it's a very sad situation, and all you're going to do is go around and moan and groan about how complicated it is to get the Washington money. And how difficult it is to get anything done. And let me make one final point to you -- and this is being very unchairman-like -- but I've been pretty good about this so far and I'm entitled to my own five minutes. My inclination is to say that the virtues of competition are not being realized and we ought to be a bit more self-conscious about that and not worry so much about the absence of consensus and cooperation. A little more competition would be good.

Audience: I like that. What's the action -- I like that, let's find out --

Chairman: Well, I can tell you one approach to the action, particularly those of you who are institutionally based, and I don't care whether it's a museum or a school or a settlement house or what. I can tell you the problem to which I am now addressing myself, with my 2, 000 employees of various kinds and my 12, 000 students and my millions of dollars budget. My institution has no commitment qua commitment whatsoever. Now, that's a terrible thing to say. I think it is true of Columbia University. I think it is true of N. Y. U. , etc. All I can tell you is that I am attempting to address that problem of the absence of institutional commitment. Now, I have a way that I am tooling up to test. I am not sure it's a good way, but it's a way. The way is to take a neighborhood, which has the remnants left of community integrity, and refocus the totality of things that we now do all over the city upon that area -- the practice-teaching, the research, all the youth and recreational things we are doing. Instead of having them dispersed all over, relate them to a particular, going, living community. Now, my hope is -- and I don't have the vaguest idea whether it will work out -- that all the people now involved in these dispersed activities will simply learn, through the process of what they do, that they share a common subject matter which is in the city itself, and which has limits which you can see, boundary lines, definitive buildings, definitive leadership, definitive problems. And perhaps, somehow, through this, we could crack the artificial barriers within my own institution. Philanthropy is simply corrupt. It is corrupt in its pretensions. It absolutely is frightened of the implicit controversy in this subject matter. Like those great new patrons of the arts, the American universities. They are absolutely fearful of risk-taking in the arts. Look at university programs, artists in residence and all the rest. All they are doing is taking in the tried-and-true, and then patting themselves on the back about how much they're doing to support the arts -- the great new patron.

Audience: We're here talking about politics. We're talking about power. Now, in order to have power, and to exercise it, you've got to have a constituency. Now, if the artist or the playwright can't identify his constituency, he can't manipulate power, either in Washington, or in a university or in Podunk. The limits of support in Washington are very real, they come from Congress, and just the minute the constituency in Podunk doesn't write its congressman, the agencies are crippled and no one knows that as clearly as the War on Poverty. But this whole business of how you develop your immediate constituency and how you organize it to appeal to the levels of government or the other institutions of the society, that is the critical problem in the arts.

Audience: There's a terrible thing happening here, particularly with regard to the arts, particularly to the artist. One of the things that's happening in the contemporary city for the artist is that to survive, he has to institutionalize himself, and this sets off a whole lot of unique new tensions. By the time a painter gets through with his art gallery and with the museums who can make or break him, by the time he gets through with all of that stuff, or plugging into a university as a painter in residence, he's had it. He's really had it. And the plight of a musician is worse and the plight of the theatrical folk is even worse, and it's --

Audience: Take it one step further, though. Remember that all of these nasty souls that we're condemning are people. All of the people on your board are individuals. All of the people in your program are individuals, and it seems to me that there is an avenue to their power structure, by one way or another. How do you get a handle, again, on a responsible leader or a person to bring about change in this setting, because it's very easy to condemn an institution or an organization -- but this is a person, every one of those people. You are the head of your institutions. I blame you.

Chairman: That's tyranny. The answer is, you know, extraordinarily simple at one level. This is a dirty business. I mean, Bedford-Stuyvesant literally is filthy. That's right. And nothing is surer than once you get into a modern, urban, institutional bureaucracy of any kind, all of the pressures are for you to defend the possession and use of the bureaucratic power you have, and every fool who is in one of these positions knows that it's as easy as falling off a log to do that, if you avoid getting dirty, so the simple answer is, you don't take risks. And the guys who do take risks are the ones who ought to be backed. They ought to be backed by the Federal agencies --

Audience: By everybody.

Chairman: They ought to be backed and --

Audience: They are not even backed by each of us.

Chairman: That is a profoundly simple axiom. But it's a very fundamental one to get through.

Audience: I would like to go back to that point there for a second. Which was: Yeah, any good politician knows you build your own constituency. Now, if the arts are naive and they want to get plugged into the world, how do we go about building a constituency that becomes a power base and supplies the dollars and the backing to get the job done? I think there's nothing being said down here to indicate the job can be done. Now, how do we organize to build a constituency? Let's get real political about our behavior.

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THE ARTS AS AGENTS FOR SOCIAL CHANGE: AN ANTHROPOLIGIST'S VIEWPOINT

FRANCIS A. J. IANNI
Columbia University

Man as a species is a relatively recent addition to life on earth but in that short span of two million years he has managed to transform the earth into his private domain. Much of this transformation and his apparent refusal to follow other animals in accepting his world as he found it proceed from his mood and mode of questioning and from his enduring belief in his own perfectability. During most of these two million years he has asked why things happened and wondered how he could turn these happneings to his own benefit. His quest for answers and solutions eventually reached beyond the land to the sea and the skies as he sought to reduce the riddles of his environment to certainty and control. He developed an art, a technology, and eventually a science which systematized this reduction and built up a body of knowledge so imposing that today we truly believe that we can do anything we want to, given the time and the notion.

This same self-assurance and continuance have led us to one of the great mythologies of our time: the belief system which says that the good things in life -- beauty, truth, security and love -- are now almost within our grasp. We have only to apply ourselves, our knowledge and our skills and the Great Society is ours. And not content to enjoy these alone, we actually presume to believe that we can somehow distill all of these joys and pleasures into some opiate yet palatable form and dispense them like wonder drugs to those less fortunate than we. We give proud names to programs designed to prescribe and distribute this American middle-class psychodelica -- Upward Bound, Head Start, Higher Horizons, and Allianza Para El Progresso. We plan the campaign to eradicate misery and ignorance -- which we equate -- and to destroy the automobile graveyard and the slum with all of the precision and paraphernalia of a military operation. In fact, if some sensitive soul had not stopped to consider the ethnic slur inherent in the resulting acronym, the anti-poverty program would have been officially called the War on Poverty. We are, in effect, declaring

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Parts of this paper have been adapted from my forthcoming book Culture, System and Human Behavior; the Behavioral Sciences and Education.

open, total war on poverty, on ignorance, on deprivation, and on want, and we intend to win, no matter what the cost. The strategy is clear, it remains now only to decide on the tactics, and on the character and composition of the occupation once the battle is won. That is to say, we know that education is to be the major weapon and we need only decide how we are going to use it; we know that the culture of poverty must be annihilated and all that remains is the bothersome question of what we have to offer in its place to induce its members to unconditional surrender. And yet, we might well ponder the terrible consequences of victory, for what, in fact, do we have to offer as a replacement for the culture of poverty? In the cognitive domain we have some evidence that better schooling can lead to better jobs but what are the affective consequences of the cultural revolution we propose? Will we make use of existing cultural motifs in the lives of these people or will we, confident in our own excellence, find new ways to assert our cultural advantage?

There is abundant evidence from similar attacks on a "cultureless" or "deprived" people to indicate that if we persist and insist on replacing the culture of poverty with something precious to us but alien to them, we can expect the same disquieting and even disastrous consequences as elsewhere. In Africa and Asia, for example, the effects of efforts by colonial administrators to give to indigenous peoples a share in English or Dutch, Spanish or French culture is now evident in the problems of developing nations in these areas. The more fully the African or the Asian became immersed in the foreign culture the more he felt and continues to feel the helpless loneliness and rage of the man without a past. For, whatever the motivation of the European educator in imparting his culture to the native peoples, he was assuming that his past would become theirs and, except for a few interesting archaeological ruins, that their history began on the day of contact. The consequences of coercive cultural change can, in fact, be horrendous if the destruction of the old culture reaches deeply into the ethos of that society. W. H. R. Rivers, in his "Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia," pointed to the destructive results on the unifying ethos of Melanesian culture and society when the British imposed their own cultural norms and prohibited head-hunting. Now, head-hunting had never been very popular in England and if someone had suggested to the British that head-hunting was the organizing principle, the passion and the fountain of social and individual ambition in Melanesian society, they would surely have responded with incredulity. But it was so; each head-hunting expedition took years to plan and accomplish and the preparations and aftermath was the glue that held Melanesian social organization together. Without the stimulation of these ritual functions, the Melanesians literally died of a sense of futility and boredom. They had nothing to live for. Someone else, perhaps the poet or the philosopher will have to ponder over the question of the justification of the British in abolishing what was to them an abhorrent, nasty habit but which actually took fewer lives in the long run than resulted from its abolishment. My own interest in recounting it here is to indicate that social betterment, even planned social change and reform, can be disastrous unless we comprehend and appreciate how it is perceived by those undergoing change and how the change relates to what went before. Now, what of the role of the arts in social change?

There would appear to be rather consistent agreement among anthopologists and artists on the role of the arts as agents of social change: many see the arts, either in their developmental force, the "inner logic of art forms themselves," in the art tradition, or in a "world soul," as the spirit and image of a particular culture or society. Thus, the critic Sir Herbert Read sees in "Romanticism. . . the social and intellectual forces. . .[that have] been transforming the civilization of the Western World. . . and all the arts. . . both as cause and symptom, in the general process of history." Similarly in his article, "Style," in _Anthropology Today_, Meyer Schapiro suggests that any given culture or epoch of culture has only one style, or a limited range of styles to it, and this permeates the whole of society. Others, the historical materialists in particular, see in art and art styles the vehicles of social and even social-class ideology. Still others view the artist as the principal agent of change in a culture: Melville Herskovits, for example, held that "in every society, the artist is the experimenter, the innovator, the rebel." In each case, however, a careful reading and a few moments reflection indicate that he experiments, he innovates, and he rebels within the bounds of the culture that has conditioned him. The art historian, for example, who describes the Italian Futurists as rejecting the Italian culture which they found around them in museums and decaying _palazzi_ must look to social and political developments in Italy and realize that this was a culture seeking a new, twentieth century identity and the Futurists were but a part of this movement. And today's rash of rebellious, innovative art forms -- pop art, junk sculpture, and the "happening" -- are a brazen reply to a blasé public that demands both individualism and conformity from the artist. In these new art forms, today's artist replies to John Dewey's stern dictum that "Art is experience" with a thumb-to-the-nose reply that all of culture is up for grabs and "all experience is art." But note again that this rebellious attitude is peculiarly associated with other forms of protest from civil rights to sexual freedom and from anti-war protests to justice for Timothy Leary. What I am attempting to say here is really two different but related things at once: (1) the question of whether art and artists "lead" social change is, for me at least, an unanswerable and unimportant question and (2) that regardless of whether art leads or follows, stimulates or responds, I would suggest that when we speak of the "culturally disadvantaged" we admit by the term itself that this age of American culture has nothing better to offer them as a cultural milieu than what they already have.

Having said these things let me look to three orders of evidence to support what I have said: (1) the popular culture as a source of cultural enrichment for the disadvantaged; (2) art, folk culture, passion, and individualization in modern society; and (3) a farce and some fables as examples of popular and folk culture. First, I contend that in my experience with the "disadvantaged," I have seen very few programs in the arts which do not attempt to take the best of what "we" have to offer in order to help "them" fit better into our world. The motivation here is commendable but it is the same old story of the colonial administrator we saw earlier. At its best this means an attempt to reproduce the art forms of middle-class, white America in a form that is both acceptable and comprehensible to individuals who are not a part of this cultural heritage. At its worst it means a patronizing attempt to uplift the art-consciousness of a people who are, again, "culturally disadvantaged." In either case, we are usually dealing not with the folk culture of the group under contact but rather we are acting as purveyors of popular culture. I do not make the term popular culture synonymous with mass media; rather, I would distinguish folk from popular culture by indicating that in folk culture there is a creative sharing of an art form based upon common tradition among those who feel some involvement in what is produced.

Popular culture on the other hand I would describe as the logical companion of mass production that has its vital force in entertainment rather than in creativity and is assembled for somebody. Examples of folk culture abound in primitive society where art is expressive of group relationships and in the personal contact of the producer and the consumer of art. Shelley could still say that poets are "the acknowledged legislators" of the world. In popular culture, however, we seem to have lost the artist, any creative elite or, indeed, despite the fact that they call the tune in terms of what gets produced, even a creative audience. By and large the audience is present to be entertained, amused or in some way "enriched." Their involvement in any sense of understanding, feeling or re-creation of the culture which produced the art form is, at best, minimal. I sensed this estrangement of art forms from the culture most intensely recently when I visited a museum specializing in primitive art. Even accounting for my obvious bias as an anthropologist, it still seemed to me that the Guro carving from the Ivory Coast or the Bambara mask from the Sudan were out of context and meaningless as they were viewed side by side. Why are objects from different tribal groups placed together in the same way as great paintings in the Uffizi or Metropolitan? How can anyone hope to understand the intense meaning the mask has for its creators without seeing how it fits into the culture of the people? Certainly placing it, as I would, in an ethnographic collection would show only minimal cultural relationships, but this does indicate a different approach, a focus on meaning rather than viewing form and beauty out of context.

Ortega y Gasset says that art is like a window with a garden behind it. The viewer may focus his gaze either on the window or the garden behind it. Most people, he contends, focus on the garden itself and not many of us "are capable of adjusting their perceptive apparatus to the windowpane and the transparency that is the work of art." But when we are dealing with our own culture, with a social environment which is comprehensible, the function of the art form becomes almost iconic and, in Ortega y Gasset's words, people "understand a means through which they are brought into contact with interesting human affairs." Robert Redfield, the anthropologist who loved both the study of culture and art,stated this same proposition as follows:

> Art is a way of access to people and passions, differing from common experience in only accidental qualities, being perhaps less utilitarian, more intense and free from painful consequences. In short, for most people who look on painting or sculpture that presents familiar life, it is a way, intensified and liberated, of having the usual content of human

> experience. In so far as the immanent, aesthetic values are appreciated also, they support this experiencing of the human and add their special pleasurable quality. This element of pleasure, together with whatever unusual treatment of the subject has been given to it by the artist, may further increase the experience, in totality, by moving the viewer's imagination to conceive aspects of reality or of possibility which otherwise he would not encounter. Art pushes our experience just a little farther.

Art, then, is to me both a re-creation of what it is like to be alive and an intensely personal experience. Art, like love, can be sensed and experienced only as an intense personal relationship. Art, like love, can not be contrived or manufactured to suit someone else's taste. When this becomes necessary, art becomes entertainment and this is what present popular culture has become. Created on schedule as a response to the demands of the popular market place, it neither amplifies nor negates our cultural world -- it just makes it absurd. It doesn't even offer an escape anymore. Let me confess that when things get dull or bothersome, when I am anxious or disturbed, I dream of escaping the lonely life in the crowd by escaping popular culture as well as material wants and drives. I see myself living in the richness of the moment, on a sun-drenched beach and running my toes through the water. But such experiences are rare and I cannot tell you what the feeling is like or re-create it for you. In fact, I can only share it by experiencing it with someone I love. Here is the ultimate in the absurdity of trying to act as an agent for introducing one cultural mode for another. It is what Camus saw as absurd in modern man's attempt to exist among the confusion of values which is our popular culture and what Heraclitus meant many years ago when he observed that man is estranged from that which he is most familiar with and he must continuously seek to rediscover it.

If I were a Negro in Bedford-Stuyvesant or a Puerto Rican in East Harlem, I would not for one moment consider giving up my rich -- if disadvantaged -- culture for the lonely general culture any more than I have personally been willing to give up the marginality of being Italian-American, despite the fact that most of my colleagues tell me it is tension-producing and anxiety-ridden to be in such cultural conflict. Oscar Lewis has done a brilliant job of showing how rich and comforting the culture of poverty can be and repeatedly illustrates that what causes the disjunctures and the disharmonies is our attempt to tell them that they don't know what they are missing. One need only spend some time in the culture of poverty to realize that there is a cultural stimulation, in fact, a source of pleasure. But in this puritanical age we distrust pleasure because it suggests triviality. Just as learning which is fun is suspect, so living *dolce far niente* is condemned unless you can afford it. Our world forces us to think clearly and logically, and to live as if we enjoy it or it does not permit us to survive. We revel in the envy of the flamboyant gesture or the Buddhist's immersion in non-being. But at best we must restrict these pleasures to our spare time as Sunday afternoon painters or cocktail-hour philosophers. If these are the rewards we have to offer as experience and art, then forget it.

Let me sum up here by saying that once again it doesn't really matter if the popular culture is as valueless and absurd as I think it is, because what really matters is that if the artist wants to act as an agent of social and cultural change he must work with and within the society and the culture he hopes to change. He, like the anthropologist, must become as much a part of it as he can and build from within rather than attempting to impose from without. And to do this we must understand -- not appreciate, but understand -- the culture of poverty.

How well, for example, do we understand the culture of the American Negro? We have been looking at Negroes in this country for three hundred years and yet we continue to see only what we want to see. And often, he shows us only what we want to see. We see him, we hear him, we may even appreciate him as an artist but we are still looking at the garden instead of looking through the window at black culture in this country. Consider, for example, the simple fact that Negro entertainers, no matter how well established, have developed the maddening knack of giving us only what we think we like to see and hear. Their virtuosity is incredible and yet they entertain us with a parody of what our popular culture really is. Listen carefully to Ella Fitzgerald or Pearl Bailey burlesquing a romantic ballad, or watch the Harlem Globetrotters fake, feint, and shuffle, break every rule, and make a mockery of a game of basketball. They burlesque the Negro as an athlete but they also always manage to defeat their foil, an all-white team.

Negroes purvey our popular culture for the commodity it is. They know its cheapness, its unreality. Their persons having been sold, literally, in our society, they have some acquaintance with commercialism; they know how to sell and are in a better position to learn what is not for sale. This is what Mahalia Jackson seems to mean in singing only spirituals, although she sings them with a jazz beat. As a veteran performer, the Negro is, in his very existence, the most sophisticated critic of our romanticism, our social etiquette, our ethics, our fashions and our enthusiasms. He cannot even deceive himself completely when he becomes a bourgeois; it is all too new. Negroes as performers add an extraordinary dimension to ordinary activities. The criticism is more devastating because it is in the doing -- not cerebral, but spontaneous, mimetic, issuing out of the ambivalent experience that every actor has of the act and of reality. Were they to speak to us directly of what they know, not in exhortation, not in threat, but about our shared cultural fraudulence, I think that we would laugh until our throats rattled. Stanley Diamond has illustrated the farcical "theatre-of-the-absurd" quality of Negro involvement in the popular culture. He describes as follows that great cultural _double-entendre_, the heavyweight championship affair between Liston and Clay.* First of all, both men are in our cultural world self-acknowledged professional outsiders, members of what one might call the 'establishment of the outside.' Liston is an ex-con and scofflaw. Clay (Muhammad Ali), the star performer, is a Black Muslim who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca and a celebrated trip to Africa. Like Liston, he is unschooled, although obviously clever, and manifestly rejects the white world. He even managed to fail the draft board intelligence test, twice. Appropriately enough, Clay had been a United States Olympic champion boxer, and understood what it meant for him to fight in the name of our country.

Born in the South, Clay had successfully turned himself into an Aesopian, a fabulous character. His famous rhymes and manufactured rages against opponents have a bowdlerized folk quality. One senses a kind of reverse "Uncle Remus" in Clay's act. The characters fight among themselves but they always outwit the _man_. Clay embraces them all and draws them into his fabled world, precisely because he alone, in his exuberance, exposes the absurdity of their professional lives in white society. He can do this because he is young, rich, and has by means of his new religion apparently withdrawn from the phantom circle of statuses conferred by whites.

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* This material is taken from an early draft of an article eventually published as _Black Farce, White Lies_; "Dissent;" Fall, 1966

Liston simply plays it cool, speaking astringently and tersely when questioned, disinterested even in appearing interested in the conventional opinion of mankind -- both of them champions, arrived, glorified puppets of the white crowd, but puppets who have learned to pull their own strings, each in his peculiar way.

The event began under a flood of extremely powerful and hot television lights and was over about two minutes later with Clay knocking Liston out. So far as their behavior on stage was concerned, intuition, improvisation, and mutual interest provide the clue; no precise battle plan was necessary.

When Clay was asked, immediately afterwards, what punch knocked out Liston, he allowed that it was either a left-hook or a right-cross, but refused to commit himself before he saw the video-tape. After viewing the video-tape, which was shown him immediately, he explained that the curious little punch which did the ostensible damage had been taught him by Step'n Fetchit, who had learned it, as a boy, from the great Negro heavyweight boxer, Jack Johnson. Fetchit, the movie actor, who had made a fortune out of, and immortalized, the stereotype of the shuffling, "Yes, boss," slow-thinking, but sly, Negro, an adept at evasion, had been Clay's constant companion in training. One might not have expected Fetchit to have been in the camp of the Black Muslims, unless we are aware that the real Fetchit could not possibly have been the personality projected, and then it seems inevitable. He became a central figure in the little myth into which Clay was turning the Lewiston affair.

The question remains why the whole affair was executed so unimpressively, so transparently. But that was part of the farce. In retrospect, it appears as a near-perfect burlesque of a heavyweight championship fight. There was no visible punch, no bruises, no count. The actors know their audience. They have known it for generations. The audience will fill in what it pleases. As usual, we will ascribe to it the Negro behavior which fits our assumptions. We will insist that the affair was either a fix, or a mysteriously authentic fight (one veteran white sportswriter described the perfect punch in detail; a well known sporting journal tried to photograph it as such). What we will resist seeing is that two physically tremendous men put on an entertainment for a society in which they do not believe. With due consideration for themselves, they refused to batter each other into the ground for the pleasure of a predominantly white audience, according to white rules of the game, for prizes which they had already achieved by other means.

If this is an accurate description of Negro-white relations in popular culture, there are, however, happier encounters in which artists can work with the "disadvantaged" to create and recreate a new cultural world which has all of the comfort of the old along with the security-producing elements of the new. My colleague, Herbert Kohl, in an article which will appear in a forthcoming issue of the New York Review of Books, has been tremendously successful in working with children from a "disadvantaged culture," developing a pride in the old as well as an understanding of the general culture. Kohl, who is now with us at the Horace Mann-Lincoln Institute, began his career as a teacher in East Harlem. One of his early experiences was with the reaction of The Establishment to two poems written by two different eleven-year-old girls in his class. One poem received high praise and was published in the school paper:

Shop With Mom

I love to shop with mom
And talk to the friendly grocer
And help her make the list
seems to make us closer.

The other was bitterly condemned when Kohl tried to have it published in the same paper. It was full of misspellings and grammatical errors, didn't rhyme, and besides it was on a subject, said the teacher-editor, that an eleven-year-old "just could not know anything about":

The Junkies

When they are
in the street
they pass it
along to each
other but when
they see the
police they would
run some would
just stand still
and be beat
so pity ful
that they want
to cry.

Eventually, Kohl was able to work with the children by casting aside the establishment view (and leaving the school system in the process), and the story of his learning of their culture and their acceptance of the new patterns he developed with them makes fascinating and intensely valuable reading for anyone interested in working with youngsters from "disadvantaged" areas. What is important here for us is that eventually he and they were able to create a new set of patterns which did not negate the old culture but still gave them a window into our world. For example, after a long series of experiences with reading classical mythologies and creating their own myths (the kids made up some wonderful mythical characters with names like "Skyview," "Missile," and "Morass") here are two fables created by two eleven-year-old children which illustrate their mixing of cultural worlds:

> Once upon a time there was a pig and a cat. The cat kept saying old dirty pig who want to eat you. And the pig replied when I die I'll be made use of, but when you die you'll just rot. The cat always thought he was better than the pig. When the pig died he was used as food for the people to eat. When the cat died he was bured in old dirt. Moral: Live dirty die clean.
>
> Once a boy was standing on a huge metal flattening machine. The flattener was coming down slowly. Now this boy was a boy who love insects and bugs. The boy could have stopped

> the machine from coming down but there were two ladie bugs on the button and in order to push the button he would kill the two ladie bugs. The flattener was about half inch over his head now he made a decision he would have to kill the ladie bugs he quickly pressed the button. The machine stoped he was saved and the ladie bugs were dead. Moral: smash or be smashed.

As Kohl points out, these fables exude the exhilaration felt by children when they are allowed freedom to create after being stifled in the classroom. But they also illustrate what is most challenging in the involvement of the artist in the world of the "disadvantaged" -- the ability to help create a new reality. Artists have always created their own reality, and I suppose that when you do this in social and political rather than aesthetic terms, you are really creating utopias. Perhaps that is why utopias are usually full of artists. If utopias have failed in the past I don't think this should cause us too much concern. The real value of a utopia, after all, has always been what happens once it is disassembled and everyone goes back into society carrying with him elements of what he learned in this new world. This is what happened to the communistic utopias in the past and it is precisely what is appearing in our experience with the Peace Corps today. As valuable as they may be in Zambia or Peru, their real contribution is not in what they give to foreign nations but in what they bring back to us in a new world view. This is also what can come from a realistic entente among artists, scientists, and the culture of poverty. What skills you have and we have can help to create a new folk culture which faces the changing world of the slum and the ghetto and develops programs for life as it will be rather than as we would like to describe it.

Robert Redfield used to tell a fable, which for some reason or other Aesop overlooked, about a hen who was giving a survival lecture to her chicks while they were being swept down stream by a flash flood, precariously balanced on the roof of a chicken coop. One of the lesson units in her hurried curriculum concerned the future sources of food supply, but as she looked at the trees of the forest along the banks of the river, she realized that she remembered very little about forests because she had been away from them so long and that she wasn't doing too well in telling the chicks about food sources in the forest. So she called out to a wise old owl in the trees whom she saw interviewing other wild birds about their reaction to this stress-provoking flood. "Professor Owl," she said, "won't you be my consultant and help me teach my chicks about life in the woods, for you stay there and study it and are indeed a wise old owl." But the owl had overheard what the hen had been telling the chicks, and he was astonished and appalled at how scientifically inaccurate and superficial her information was. Besides, he was anxious to proceed with his interviewing and hurry back to his study to speculate on how individuals react when placed suddenly in a new and frightening situation. You see, he was working on a paper on this subject. So he pretended not to hear the hen and went on with his interviewing. Left to her own devices, struggling to maintain order among her chicks, and occasionally having to grasp at one as it fell off the coop into the water, she went on as best she could and described what she thought food sources in the forest would be like. The chicks, as resilient and eager as chicks everywhere, took rather well to it, and later, when the coop finally came to rest far, far down stream, the chicks bid farewell to their mother hen and set off bravely to begin their adult lives -- in a treeless meadow. *

Three problems for chickens, owls, and humans emerge from the adventures of mother hen and her chicks: (1) How do we go about making sure that the owl and the chickens talk to each other before the flood, (2) How do we take into account in educational planning the fact that the chicks we are preparing for life in the forest may have to face life in a desert, (3) How do we get owls, who know a great deal about forests but not too much about chicks, working with those who know all about chicks but can not see the forest for the trees?

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* This fable is adapted from Robert Redfield's classical one which first appeared in an article, "Research in the Social Sciences, Its Significance for General Education," Social Education, V. (December, 1941), pages 568-579, and which was reprinted in Vol. #2 of Social Uses of Social Science: The Papers of Robert Redfield, Editor: Margarette Park Redfield, "Chicago; University of Chicago Press, 1963," pages 85-92.

EXCERPTS FROM THE DISCUSSION WITH MR. IANNI

Audience: Erich Fromm talks about the new man emerging in our culture, and I wonder to what extent the disadvantaged, through the mass media, may emerge also --

Mr. Ianni: I don't know. This is a difficult area for me, but I have a few ideas if you don't mind. I know in our experience at Horace Mann, in working with children, it's very simple to get them to accept any reward system that you want, really, if it's done in a situation which allows them to feel part of the growth process. Let me give you a quick example. One of the problems that we faced was that, in working in this particular area in Harlem, there simply wasn't any space where we could have kids come in, feel free from the school system, and talk about anything they wanted. So we managed to come up with an old, dilapidated building, and -- doing things the way I would normally do it -- I contracted with a painting company to come in and paint it and redesign the inside. Luckily, the day before they were to arrive, somebody who had better sense than I called me aside and said, "Why don't you let the kids do it themselves?" So we did, and it had two very important effects. One, they do feel it's something that's theirs; and secondly, we did not have one bit of trouble with them -- not one bit, largely because it's something which they had built, which they had created, and which they could feel part of. In specific answer to your question, I think that becoming part of this -- what I would call consumptive -- culture is again a very personal thing with individuals. You know, I'm part of this myself. And so are you. There are things that every consumer wants. There are things that I want very badly. But it's the way I want them and what I want to do with them after I get them, that I think is important.

Audience: The point that Fromm was making, though, is that man-the-consumer is never satiated. And as a consequence, he is always in fear of not having enough, and because of this fear he never will turn his attention to the things that really count in life, and art is one of those things.

Mr. Ianni: Possibly so. I don't know. Yes, ma'am?

Audience: I work with children -- and my first job is to erase the word "underprivileged." I wish somehow, we could find another expression for it. I think somehow we defeat ourselves

-- we push the child a little further down into the hole where we brand him this way, because I don't think it fits him particularly. It could be a child on Park Avenue or the child who lives on St. Nicholas Avenue. But there is another danger in all of this and I wonder if we can't come around to it. We start with the children in the public schools, but we don't start with the parents, and until we bridge that terrific gap, I don't think we have a possible chance to do for the child what we want done, no matter how elaborate the educational set-up is.

Mr. Ianni: I'm sorry, but it's wrong to assume that the parents are not with them because they don't want to be with them. We've been working with one high school in East Harlem, Benjamin Franklin High School, which is a fantastic school where 10 percent of the students literally disappear every day. We've been going very slowly. What we've done there is to set up a Neighborhood Educational Development Council which has representations from parents. There is a great misunderstanding that people, at least in this area of East Harlem that we've been working with, actively want to run the schools. Actually, what they want is the opportunity to help set educational objectives, and this is what we've managed to do. You are quite right: it does no good to work with children alone. But I think it is self-defeating to assume from the beginning that parents are uninterested. They are vitally interested, but they have been rebuffed so many times and they are beginning to learn. Yes, ma'am?

Audience: I want to welcome you to New York City. I hope in your new role in Horace Mann-Lincoln that you will encourage our people -- because I, too, come from the New York City public school system -- to stay in the system, work with the establishment and, perhaps, change the establishment, because it would bother me if I felt that another network or parallel system was being set up. I'd like to see you in I. S. 201. I would hope that you and some of your colleagues would come into 201 and work with us up there because this is the kind of thing we need to work together on, not in a parallel situation.

Mr. Ianni: First of all, we'd be very much interested in working with 201, but at present, we're just a small guerrilla band. And our whole attitude is not that we are going to adopt Benjamin Franklin, which is the way it appeared in the newspapers, unfortunately. Our whole attitude is that we're a legitimate and necessary part of that community, and, therefore, we have a community role to play. There are some things that I think are necessary in the program that we envision anyway, which just can't be done in schools, and shouldn't be done in schools. For example, we have Paul Rosenbloom, one of the best mathematicians in the country, who wants to teach children about mathematics by using gaming theory -- that simply means using dice. Now, you can see as well as I the headlines, if the school starts getting kids to shoot dice in the school. Now, we can do this in our community center and take all of the brunt of the poor publicity that will come out of it at first. Once it's developed, it can then be moved into the schools. Now, the important thing is that the teachers are as much a part of that community-resource center that we've set up as we are or as the children are. And they come over and help to develop new programs, giving them a chance to grow.

Audience: Excuse me. On one point that you made, I'd like some help from both you and Miss Maynor. When you say that the school is not the setting for all things, will you please help in creating the other setting before you tell everybody that the school isn't the setting? Because the entire world is still expecting the school to be that setting.

Mr. Ianni: Let me put it in a different way, then. I don't think that education and schools are synonymous. If you view the school as the only place education can happen, then some things just aren't going to happen. And the community has to be as much a part of the school as the school is part of the community.

Audience: I'd like to make a comment. You quoted Redfield on something which I think is of tremendous importance: "Art is a way of access to people and passions." I think that there's been a lot of cloudy misunderstanding or feeling that the artist should supplant the teacher in teaching art -- I trust much more that he will inspire the person in the school. But it is also true that the most successful teacher is the person who loves what he is doing, and can talk about it. I am not saying all artists, but it is much easier to find artists who love what they are doing and can talk about it and can communicate this to a group of kids, and get them excited about learning about art, than it is to get a public-school teacher to do the same thing with the arts. But, hopefully, the child will develop in this not only a love of art and a love of learning the techniques of art but a love of learning itself. This is certainly one of the reasons why we wish to bring artists into the schools, but not in competition with the teachers. We're helping these youngsters in a quest for their own significance, and it is the artist that can frequently unlock this in the child.

Audience: I think Dr. Ianni made an enormous contribution by calling to our attention some of these positive, very significant qualities of Negro culture in America. I do believe it's important to point out some of the aspects of popular culture in America. I wonder if you could identify any of the contributions that you think middle-class culture or popular culture has to make to Negro culture?

Mr. Ianni: That's a good question. Yeah, I do think there are some important contributions that can be made. I think that there are two words that are important. One is openness, and the other is access. I think that one thing that middle-class culture does provide is access to a whole variety of new experiences which most children in so-called disadvantaged areas simply cannot have. And I think that by using so-called middle-class culture, as a way of opening up other experiences, it makes children more open at the same time.

Audience: If we were going to take on the task of educating children in that culture you spoke of in your talk, it seems to me that we would construct a head-hunting curriculum, and they would think they were studying head-hunting all day. We would teach them how to read, and some math, and so on. Now, we've been on the fringes of this today, but how about using art functionally that way? Use art as the organizing idea for a curriculum, because otherwise we are not making it with the conventional curriculum -- art in the general sense. I thought that at this conference we were going to talk about this, instead of adding art as another component to a curriculum. I don't think that we've really engaged the question of using art functionally in education.

Audience: Let me make a play for art methods in education. I think that this is where art educators generally are farther ahead than any other group. This is in their understanding and respect for the individual production. When I say art, I mean any of them: music, drama, the whole thing. It's not the discipline itself. It's not the use of water colors or singing.

Audience: I'm distressed at the description of Negro culture that we heard a few minutes ago. I think what Dr. Ianni was describing was not Negro culture, but the commercial field of music -- which whether you are Negro, Jewish, Italian is all the same. If these people stand up and burlesque or parody -- and by the way I do not agree that some of the people he named fit into this category -- I don't think it's fallacious of them to attempt to do this. They make their living by it, and if it entertains, fine. But, to say that Negro culture is a parody implies that there is a Stepin Fetchit personality that is now dominant in Negro culture. This is exactly the point that I thought Dr. Ianni was trying to disprove in the rest of his talk. Maybe we don't know what Negro, or disadvantaged culture, or disadvantaged art is. (By the way, I think the conference should not only deal with Negro disadvantaged populations.) The point is that there are at least five or six variants in the cultural pattern, certainly in the musical pattern of the American Negro, and we've heard only one.

Audience: I was sitting there listening to Dr. Ianni very closely, and the whole analysis that he gave about Stepin Fetchit, and Cassius Clay, and the like. I didn't interpret it that way, and I wasn't offended by it. I have been a performer as a jazz musician. I think that what Dr. Ianni's saying is that we should begin to take a second look at the Negro who is presenting a certain kind of front very often, because he has or had to learn how to manipulate the system. So there is an area of put-on, you see, and any of you who have worked with Negro kids should be aware that very often you are being put on, and I think -- if you know anything about behind the scenes -- you know there are two faces to a lot of performers. The real Stepin Fetchit, I think Dr. Ianni is saying, you'll never know. I think he was trying to convey a certain kind of message to us as teachers, and social workers, and whatever, who are going into this kind of area, to realize that there is an area, a gray area, that you might not be hooked into.

Audience: I warned you before that I am a teacher. I work with what we believe is an art specifically designed for children, and this is creative dramatics. And creative dramatics is very briefly a group activity in which children are guided to use real or imaginary experiences as an area of self-expression. First of all, not only must we be concerned with the self-concept of the disadvantaged child -- and now I'm talking about the Negro child -- but we must also open out and look through the window from the other side, and also have the larger society recognize that the Negro culture is a part of the American whole, and until we can look at it in that way, and deal with it in that way, I don't know that anything very much is going to happen with the children. Let us use the arts for truth. When I have worked with Negro children, using Negro history, I have not worked with it entirely from the point of view of the black-power motif that is being talked about. I've been talking about this kind of understanding: "When you say, 'Land where my fathers died,' you are talking about your very own fathers, honey. Your fathers had as much to do with this way of life, this culture we are talking about, as anybody else." And if the middle-class things represent the good way of life, then no American -- no American -- should be denied access to that. What is wrong with wanting the good life? Let's not have our children start out with the same misconceptions and misunderstanding of each other, as we have started out. Let's strip away the masks. Let's give the children a chance to understand what we, ourselves, don't even begin to understand. [APPLAUSE]

Chairman: These are very intelligent and serious comments, which cut really to the heart of many of the problems which both of us, in education and the arts, now confront. It's only recently that the idea of melting pot through schooling has gotten a little less popular, and even in this day and age in a place like New York City you confront the incongruity, in my shop, of two-thirds of my students speaking daily a foreign language at home, and coming to the university ashamed of it.

Audience: Isn't there a paradox? We're living in a social system which is not only increasingly complex, but terribly interdependent. On the one hand we need and want, I suppose, to maintain the unique qualities that various cultural groups have as part of this complex social system. On the other hand, we need to be able to establish the bonds of communication, the modes of interaction that will allow for some kind of social cohesiveness and understanding. How do we develop a community in this country that will allow cultural diversity to be maintained, while at the same time being able to establish the kind of communication that an interdependent society needs to have?

Audience: I was thinking of something that Dr. Ianni didn't say, and I'd like to ask him a question. He's indicated that there's a great, rich culture out there somewhere, and that we're going to use a lot of Federal funds to stamp it out, but we've got nothing to replace it with. So where the hell do the arts plug into the role of finding the values to replace this, or to transform this thing? You know the arts can bring about social change, but you didn't get to it.

Mr. Ianni: I think the artist has a great, a very great, role. But, again, it's in re-creating a new cultural sequence, because despite all that's beautiful and wonderful in the culture of poverty, life is going to change, and a new development has to take place. I think that artists have a peculiar ability to create a new reality. This is what I think an artist does. I think this is his principal role.

Whether he does this with or without federal funds is really relatively unimportant, because I think he can work as an individual, in a situation where he can relate to individuals, in a way that only anthropologists and perhaps psychologists can do well, among the social scientists.

Audience: Okay, but what's the role? Have you any idea? What form does the agency for social change take? This is one of the issues that we have to confront here that really hasn't been expounded.

Audience: I, too, feel very strongly that the artist can help to create a new reality, but I think there's something more important. I think the artist articulates the reality, now. I think that is the artist's very significant role, because I think that too many non-artists will not articulate the reality, and it's only through the artist, who will dare say what others will not say, that we can really see the reality.

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THE APPLICATION OF EDUCATIONAL TECHNOLOGY TO EDUCATION OF THE DISADVANTAGED

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Today I want to talk with you about the bright potentialities that educational technology offers to educators, particularly to those who work with the disadvantaged. But a discussion of educational technology must be prefaced, I think, by a definition of term. It is not synonymous with hardware, as many people think; rather, it is an instructional theory or approach which may or may not involve the use of hardware. The way in which motion-picture projectors, single-concept films, instructional TV, language laboratories, overhead projectors, and other hardware are used in most cases does not fit in with the current instructional theory of educational technology at all.

Modern educational technology -- in theory and in practice -- is based on two fundamental principles. One is that the objectives of any educational system should be designed to create behavioral changes in the students, to make them better able to cope with or enjoy life than ever before. Whenever you develop a course, one of the first steps is to determine what changes in the student's behavior you hope that course will generate and to find an accurate means to measure its success. You set the overall objectives of the course, and then dissect them into a sequence of intermediate behavior objectives, perhaps even into a hundred steps that you feel the student must pass to reach the final one. The only guide to whether these intermediate objectives are reached is an overt student reaction -- something you can see, something that can be a measure of accomplishment. This takes a tremendous amount of work; it may be the most difficult part of the entire course development process. But this is the only way by which educators know whether their methods have succeeded.

For example, let's say that we're planning a course in music appreciation intended to raise the student's understanding and approval of classical music. How do you set measurable objectives? This is a particularly difficult example, because about the only measure is to find how many

3

symphonies the student attends on his own during the year after the course.

The second major principle for utilizing educational technology is that the course, not the student, is at fault if the desirable change in student behavior does not occur. To illustrate how this works in practice, let me describe how programmed instruction might be applied to teaching English grammar.

After the major and intermediate objectives are set, a team of experienced writers drafts them into text form. Then, to measure its effectiveness, the text is tested on a small group of students, perhaps a dozen. Their responses are analyzed and if any sizeable segment -- let's say 10 percent of the students -- miss the questions, then you conclude not that those students didn't work, but that there's something wrong with the text. You ask those dozen students how they understood the material, and why they answered the way they did. Then you rewrite that section of the text.

Actually, the standard criterion for programmed instruction, when it is well done, is that people continually revise the material until 90 percent of the students in the course score 90 percent on the final examination. This is quite contrary to many ordinary concepts about textbooks written by an experienced single author or a team. The important thing is not the rewriting itself; the trick is to write, try out, revise, test out again, and keep on with this process until the materials really can accomplish their objectives. The revision usually costs half again as much as the preparation of the original text, but this technique yields a result that is far more fruitful than the classical approach.

The emphasis of educational technology is on student achievement; hence, educational technology usually is concerned with individualizing instruction. It permits each student to assimilate the material at his own pace so that learning becomes a completely individualized experience. In some cases, the concepts of educational technology and individualized instruction are almost synonymous, but there are some situations -- particularly in the learning of the disadvantaged -- where educational technology is a major factor in determining whether a student continues to move forward with understanding or gets hopelessly lost and gives up.

In other words, it is possible to use either individualized instruction or hardware or a combination of the two without really accomplishing what educational technology is trying to do. Let's look at language laboratories, where the capabilities of sophisticated hardware may be put to good use or virtually wasted, depending upon how well the principles of educational technology are followed. In some cases, the student simply hears the tape-recorded voice, records his own interpretation, and then listens to the original and compares it with his own. When he's satisfied, he goes on to the next phrase.

To illustrate what really happens sometimes, I recall one particular experiment with a group of Negro children in Alabama. The typical child listened to the two, and was quite satisfied. But if you were to tune in and hear the student's response, most of you would be extremely startled, not only by the student's pronunciation of English, but probably more so by the fact that he felt that he was perfectly correct.

The voice coming from the instrument sounded just like the announcer on the national radio or TV network the child was accustomed to hearing. His own voice sounded just like that of any of his playmates. All through his life, he had been conditioned to regard these as completely synonymous. In hearing the "radio announcer's" voice, and then hearing his own, he was quite prepared to swear that they were exactly the same; but you and I would probably claim that there was very little similarity.

I think this example points up something which is a basis of many educational problems, particularly but not exclusively with the disadvantaged. What are we really asking the student to do? We're asking him to make a discrimination which he has never been taught to make, one which he doesn't even know exists. These basic discriminations are the first essential steps toward the final objectives of education, and we must make sure that the student can and will make them before he proceeds.

One way to do this in the language laboratory would be to present a word or a phrase, or even a simple sound, followed by four different pronunciations of the same sounds, some of which reflect the students' ethnic or cultural background.

Then ask him on a multiple-choice basis to select which of these was most nearly similar to the original, starting out with gross discriminations, and working down to finer and finer points. For this kind of learning, I think you would find the language laboratory extremely effective.

Sometimes I hear the question: Why don't they build machines that can detect whether the child's pronunciation is correct? Well, this is perhaps possible, and some people in the country are doing work on this type of speech recognition. But it takes an extremely powerful machine to do this, and up to now all the machine can indicate is yes or no, correct or incorrect. This is an area where the human being is far better than any machine. Let's teach the student to make his own discriminations. Let's make him an expert in the discriminations that he needs to use before we advance him.

Nearly two years ago I was involved in another experiment, teaching numbers to five-year-old Negro slum children and to children of the same age from a backward Indian reservation. None of these children came from homes where they played with crayons or pencils or anything like this. We taught them the concept of numbers and to count. Then we began trying to teach them to write the figures. We started out with the traditional kindergarten and first-grade books with numbers to be traced three or four times, followed by partial numbers to be completed, and so on. In the last part of the sequence, students were to draw the number and trace over it three or four times, thus learning how to make the figure.

One day, when they came in, we asked them to make a 3. They picked up their crayons, and a couple of them at the blackboard made the 3 backwards. They sat down, perfectly content that they had drawn a fine 3.

From this, we decided that the copy-book sequence was teaching kids the mechanics of copying -- of following a line wherever it goes -- but it was not teaching them what a "3" is. In this case, tracing or even copying didn't teach them to discriminate the wiggle that society considers an acceptable 3 from a similar wiggle that society doesn't consider an acceptable 3.

Then we devised a program that taught them tc identify 1's, 2's, 3's, and 4's, and to discriminate acceptable ones from similar but not acceptable shapes. From a picture, they learned to point to the 3, for example. Then we gave them a picture with all kinds of wiggles in it -- backwards, sidewards, upside down, and so on -- and asked them to point to the correct 3. If they pointed to something else, they were taught that it wasn't right. Eventually, the students were able to pick the 3 buried among many wiggles in different pictures or slides. In this way, they learned to distinguish the real 3 -- and other figures -- from imposters.

When we gave these kids pens or pencils -- remember, they came from homes where they never had pencils or crayons to play with -- it was really most fascinating to watch them make numbers. Some of them would draw a line, erase it, draw another line, erase it, and draw still another line, and erase half of it. Then slowly, painstakingly, they would draw and it was a 3. Many of them took three to five minutes to make their first 3, but when they finished, it was a legible 3.

It was an extremely interesting demonstration. We had learned the importance of separating the educational problem of teaching discrimination from the mechanical problem of teaching skill in drawing the figure quickly. This whole area of teaching discrimination is really the major problem in working with disadvantaged children. We have to teach them to discriminate shapes, objects, words, and associations of objects and sounds. The discriminations of this type generally are well learned by middle-class children before they ever reach the schools, but the disadvantaged child who has not learned to discriminate may be completely frustrated because he's continually unsuccessful in the things that are required of him.

There is another interesting side to this study of discrimination. Aptitude for discrimination is highly individualized. One student finds a particular discrimination easy while another student must wrestle with it. It's a very difficult thing to teach in the classroom, because it requires a different mode of drill for each individual. Here, to make a big jump in our discussion, is where the most sophisticated hardware available today is extremely useful. The computerized classroom gives each student the chance to work as an individual, independent of the rest of his class.

Both language and number discriminations can be taught on computerized consoles. These machines are extremely useful before a child knows how to read because they have audio output. They can present a picture, detect whether the child picks the correct object in the picture, and respond with audio messages. They can develop discriminations on an individualized basis, so that the child escapes continual, boring, and repetitious drill on a discrimination that he has mastered but some other child has not. As soon as the child has demonstrated that he can make a particular discrimination, this is dropped out of his drill repertoire, and another one is added. On the other hand, he never advances to things requiring discriminations he has not yet learned to make.

To me, one of the most fascinating things has been not simply the tremendous speed at which the students using computers have acquired vocabulary and learned to read; even more impressive is the simultaneous personality change within each student as he learned. Almost invariably the disadvantaged children who came to us were withdrawn, shy, downcast, introverted, and unsure of themselves. Their work with this equipment was really the first time in their lives when they had been consistently rewarded or consistently correct on anything. After four to five weeks, you could detect a significant change, and at the end of a couple of months, most of the children had become extroverts. They would come in briskly -- smiling, happy, and sure of themselves. I want to emphasize that the result of working with a cold computer, an impersonal computer, is just the opposite of what most people think. I don't mean to say that I advocate that a child sit in front of a computer six or eight hours a day; but for an hour and a half or so, I think there can be tremendous advantages in having the disadvantaged learn from computers.

Now, I'd like to project some of what we've said as it applies to the arts. In the arts, probably more than in any other subject, one of the major educational problems is that we often require students to make discriminations they never have been taught to make. This also applies to the teaching of music appreciation. I often have wanted to try the same approach I was talking about in language and numbers in teaching the recognition of musical tones. In our experience, once you taught the student to recognize a 3, he was able to draw a 3. There was no question about it; he might do it awkwardly, but he could make a 3. In Michigan, some work in teaching discrimination has indicated that if a child can discriminate between different sounds, he can reproduce those sounds. How far this very interesting concept extends, I don't know.

I'd like to see how far it reaches into music education. If you can teach a child to discriminate between different tones, can he produce those tones with some practice? In other words, can you teach perfect pitch? I don't know, but I think it would be an interesting experiment. Certainly, one could, by this technique, teach the recognition of many different fundamental structures in music -- for example, different types of chords. Perhaps one could teach music harmony, the science of music if you want, extremely well by the use of these techniques.

In art, don't you really want to teach discrimination, to teach the student to discriminate things which have good composition from those which don't, so that he understands why? Once you have taught the child to discriminate between various art forms and to select the better ones, how far can you go in teaching composition on the basis of his ability to discriminate?

I'm sure that ability to discriminate leads only so far in affecting what a person can do. But how far? You can teach a child to discriminate between a painting done by an expert and one which is not, but I doubt that, purely as a result of his discrimination powers, he could make a picture that closely resembled the one painted by the expert. At the outset, then, we have to realize that discrimination is not the same thing as creativity.

Although educational technology cannot make an artist or a musician of every child, it can develop a sense of taste -- a recognition of excellence. An art course using the educational-technology approach, with its carefully structured pyramid of behavioral objectives, can sharpen the student's discrimination and this can lead to appreciation -- the hoped-for behavioral change. At the same time, carefully evaluated feedback helps weed out the elements of the course which are not effective.

Now, let us sum up briefly. Whatever the subject, learning can be enhanced by purposeful objectives that move toward positive behavioral changes through logical sequences that build on each other without wasting time on irrelevent details that obscure the things that are really interesting and exciting. For the disadvantaged, particular attention may need to be given to the teaching of discriminations that society finds acceptable. Machines offer great advantages by teaching on an individual basis many of the discriminations ordained not only by the curriculum but by the world at large. This leaves the teacher free to give attention to the things machines cannot teach -- such as creative communication.

Educational technology does not crowd out the artist; instead, it calls for his services in one of the most challenging ways yet -- to present the materials from which the child learns. Having learned to discriminate and to appreciate, the student is opening the door for future creative learning -- where he takes what he understands and builds upon it to extend what he can do.

Now, the fear in some quarters that people will imitate machines probably stems from the greatest apostle of automation, Norbert Wiener, who stated that the most degrading situation in which a human being can possibly be placed is to be asked to do something that a machine can do better. We are putting the classroom teacher in this position much of the time. The question that we must ask ourselves is: What can't the machine do? This is what the human being should do. This relates to another point that concerns this meeting too: What are the curriculum objectives of the school? What are we trying to do?

Much of the present curriculum structure in some of our schools -- the subjects, the aids, the number of hours, and so on, aside from the detailed content -- was established around 1910. The students who are now entering these schools will be graduating and coming out into adult society about 1990. We must ask ourselves: How will the society of 1990 differ from the society of 1910?

It will differ in several ways. Most of the population will be in urban centers. Obviously, communication and transportation modes will have changed even more than they have already. By far, the largest percentage of jobs will be in service industries, rather than in the production of goods. What do these things tell us about the differences the schools should prepare students to face?

It seems to me that we are going to have far more interpersonal relations in 1990 than we had in 1910, far more contact between people. Consequently, one of the major curriculum objectives of the schools should be to develop interpersonal skills, to improve the communicative -- in fact, the creative communicative -- ability of the child, the ability to formulate ideas, to express his ideas, to defend his ideas against the criticism of his peers, to learn to communicate with different groups in different ways, and so on. In other words, this creative communicative ability is going to become increasingly important. Actually the teacher's role should be more and more to let the students talk rather than to lecture to them, and to encourage creative expression in other ways.

I know of no better way of defining art than as creative communication, and this is an area in which the machine can do very little. The machine can teach the basic discriminations, of course, and do it on an individualized basis. In fact, the machine can present most of the traditional academic subjects, not because the machine itself teaches anything but because the teacher behind the machine does it. If the best teachers in the country make the films or whatever you're using, the presentation can be extremely effective. Properly programmed, the machine -- remember it's really the teachers behind the machine -- can excel, but machines can not, at least in the foreseeable future, develop communicative ability.

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EXCERPTS FROM THE DISCUSSION WITH MR. BRIGHT

Audience: I think the discrimination might be on our part, in making certain assumptions. My own observation is that kids have fantastic discriminative powers. Maybe you're talking about teaching them our language of expressing discrimination, and I think this semantic clarity ought to exist in presentations of this kind, because it might pervert thought itself if it doesn't.

Mr. Bright: Certainly, the child has the capability of making all types of discriminations, if he is aware that differences exist. We have to help him apply these discriminative powers in understanding differences that society conventionally accepts.

Audience: I would like to deal with something that is perhaps a little more mundane, but is of vital concern to me. You spoke, at the outset, of the problem of formulating objectives in such terms that one can measure results, and if the objective is to develop an appreciation of music, the only way that you can really know if you have accomplished this is to find out how many concerts the kids went to. What about inferential devices? Do you have any suggestions about those? Because we can't follow the kids, this is a very difficult thing to do, but are there some devices that we can use whereby we would have some pretty good idea of whether we have been effective or not, that have some predictable validity, in other words?

Mr. Bright: I think maybe I'll bounce this question to Fritz. He's thought about these things too.

Mr. Ianni: Well, first of all, I think you can get at the behavioral aspects in terms of long-range gains. I think you can do it in short-term gains also, through simulation techniques, for example, which have been used quite successfully. IBM and SRA and other companies now have simulation devices where you can take a slice of the egg, and measure what change has come about. There are other inferential devices which can be used also. One of the things that we very seldom do is ask kids what difference something has made. Just simple interviewing techniques, for example, after a child has been through a series of these experiences, can usually be extremely helpful. Where you have individuals who drop out of a particular program, it's always a good idea to ask them why. What led to this experience? I would agree that the techniques are not nearly as successful as they might be. I keep touting anthropologists, but I think it's important that somebody does this. One of the devices that we've tried, for example, is to use a classical anthropological technique called the participant-observer, who's an integral part of the program as it develops and grows, and who can describe, just on the basis of his experience in this program, what he thinks takes place. Now this doesn't have the kind of validity and reliability that ETS or some place of that sort would be happy about, but it does give you some good clues in terms of what's going on.

Mr. Bright: Also, the other thing that relates directly to a really careful analysis of curriculum objectives is a test of whether the objectives are sensible. If the objective of a course in Shakespeare is to teach the student to count the words he doesn't understand or if it is to concentrate on details of grammar that teachers often over-emphasize, then kids hate Shakespeare. If you define the behavioral change you're after

-- determine why you are doing this and then devise a test to see if you're succeeding -- you rapidly drop out irrelevant details. The same is true with music. I think in most cases your behavioral psychology will tell you that if you teach the important discriminations and reward the student for making these correctly, he'll probably learn to like music automatically. A great deal of the value comes from a careful analysis of what you're doing.

Audience: I think that this is, frankly, a naive conception of curriculum. This is a conception of curriculum that was, I think, first developed most explicitly by Franklin Bobbitt in 1918. He was very much concerned with the articulation of educational objectives, because he was very much influenced by the scientific movement in education which developed around the turn of the century, and in his work for the Los Angeles city schools in 1922, he tried to develop educational objectives. He came up with something like 880 educational objectives, a very systematic and rational approach to education in the sense that life consisted of ten domains of activity. Each of these domains had particular tasks that needed to be performed, so you identified who could perform these tasks, and then the tasks that they were to perform, and you ordered these in terms of levels of difficulty, and then you plugged them into the school and allowed the teacher to understand these objectives, and then teach for them. The reason that I think it's naive is because life doesn't flow that way, life in the classroom doesn't look that way. I think it is much too simple a conception of how children develop, how teaching takes place, and what happens when human beings interact. There is so much that is valuable, in teaching, which can only be recognized afterwards. Now I say this with some reticence because I think in the arts we have not attended to the issues that you've talked about, and I think we ought to. I think the hard-headed and very difficult problem of thinking clearly about what we're trying to achieve is important. On the other hand, I wouldn't want to leave the impression that this approach is going to solve instructional problems, because I don't think it will. I think the teachers ask a fundamentally different question from: "What am I trying to accomplish?" and that question is: "What am I trying to do?" And, in a sense it's out of the doing that comes the accomplishment.

Audience: Whitehead talked about being in love with a subject as a whole before a student is really interested enough to break it down and to master its particular disciplines. I see a grave danger of teaching Shakespeare in a classroom by showing the number of active verbs there are in six lines of Shakespeare. His great impact upon an audience comes only when there's an appreciation of the playwright as a whole and all the intangibles that are involved.

Audience: This whole discussion was very fascinating, especially to us who are presently attempting to approach the problem of music education. Now one thing that is very important, the general objective, is to increase the child's listening power, and his power of discrimination, so we have made that our very first objective. We had various tools. We had the tool of the arts, the performing artist, to make the impact; we also had the music teacher who could re-enforce the impact. We started on the premise that it required the personality, the excitement engendered by the performing artist, the skilled performing artist, to break through to the child in the first place. If you use merely mechanical devices, you rule out the wanting to learn, and the curiosity to learn, and the excitement in identification which you get through using the live artist. And this has been just the beginning of this experimental work with the University of New Mexico and a performing-arts project in a small area.

Chairman: Mr. Bright will not be able to be with us this afternoon, and he's asked if he could have just five minutes more. We're delighted, Mr. Bright.

Mr. Bright: I did want to take a moment to answer the questions that were presented here. Let me pick up first the active verbs and Shakespeare. This is a very good example of what I was talking about in discrimination. Suppose you present a good movie of a scene from Shakespeare (and incidentally, a Shakespeare course isn't unique in this use) and then present a scene from another play with the same general structure but different verb forms, and then ask the students: Which one did you feel more involved in? Which held your attention? Why?

Audience: It would depend on how they were acted also.

Mr. Bright: Yes, but presumably Shakespeare well-staged is better than a lousy play well-staged. It seems to me that what you want to teach first is the discrimination of this fact, and then ask why. This is a logical introduction to the verbs. As to the point about music education, if we give strict interpretation to the need for students to be exposed to top-rate artists, then we rule out all hope for giving a reasonable music course to students in a small rural school in Mississippi, or in a small mountain school in Idaho, where they have no possibility of hiring a top-rate artist as teacher. Much of the modern curriculum-development effort is devoted to the question: How can we take the top 5 percent of the teachers in the country and help them to give better courses? I think a more realistic problem is: How can we use equipment like video and movies to give a reasonably good course to that 50 percent of the students who have below-average teachers? There were two points to the question about curriculum objectives. I would disagree violently with the current definition of curriculum objectives as old hat. If you look at the curriculum objectives of 1918, or 1930, or 1950, or even 1960, almost all of them were stated in terms of what was to be taught. Very few, if any, were concerned with how the student should act and react as a result of exposure to the curriculum. On the other point, I agree wholeheartedly that you can't tell what you have until you've finished. This was really my point about the costliness of revising the material. I don't think there is any way on earth that we can tell how something is going to work with a group of students until we try it and find out what happened. The point here is that you do find out what happened; if it's what you wanted to happen, fine, but if that isn't what you wanted, you try something else the next time.

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LEARNING STIMULATION

HAROLD L. COHEN
Institute for Behavioral Research

(NOTE: My work is grounded in the design philosophy of the old Institute of Design in Chicago and the writings of Laslo Moholy-Nagy, and in the field of operant psychology, the writings and leadership which are exemplified by Professor B. F. Skinner at Harvard University. My growth and understanding of both these fields, design and operant psychology, are further enriched by the work and continued personal friendship of men like R. Buckminster Fuller, comprehensive design scientist, and Israel Goldiamond, experimental psychologist.

Although at first glance it would appear that I have shifted professions from design to psychology, a deeper look into my work will demonstrate that I have retained as my main concern the education of our youth, and have merged the two young fields of design and operant psychology into an exploratory expedition in environmental systems that support learning. If one needs a title in this age of titles, I would have to call myself an educational ecologist.)

On Learning

All situations are potentially educational. The means of distinguishing between an environment that increases or maintains educational behaviors and that which does not is by functionally analyzing the behavior of the individual organism which is interacting with his environment. If there is one word that is essential to the description of the learning process, it is the word "behavior."

In the process of evolution, the organism that continues to behave and survives due to his ability to differentiate his behaviors by environmental feedback (survival cues) is the organism that learns and therefore grows. A child starts learning from the moment it is born. Its early learning environments are extremely well-controlled, protected, and ordered by the parent. Without such an ordered and controlled environment, the child would die. Health experiences, in terms of the fulfillment of man's biological necessities, physical growth, and intellectual growth are programmed by the adult world through the adults' accumulation of their own successful experiences. The child's contact with his world expands with the extension of his own developing senses. His first tactile picture of the world is further expanded by his sense of sound and smell which carry him beyond his own physical limitations -- namely, the extension of his hand and the position of his mouth. His sense of hearing introduces additional stimuli which further cue him into his survival program; for example, the approaching steps of the mother and the voice of the mother act as a distant introduction to his eating and cuddling schedule. With the later development of his sense of sight, which extends his former world-view to the expansiveness of the infinite use of his interpolating brain, he increases not only the range of his cues, but his differentiating experiences. In order to "learn" he must put out some response effort to this expanding series of visual cues. Because there are consequences both gratifying and aversive to his behavior (his response to cues), he starts to be selective to cues. He varies the strengths of his own responses, the schedule of his responses (the time and place). He learns to discriminate; he does not respond to all cues alike. In short, he starts to differentiate out his responses and develops an expanding behavioral repertoire.

The people participating in this conference are involved in the business of positively expanding children's repertoires, the task of educating human beings, the design of educational environments.

The general purpose of this paper is to further your awareness of the effect of an environmental design upon behavior and the effect of behavioral control on the environment. The particular purpose of this paper is to demonstrate, by examples and research experience, the part the visual language can play in the education of youth.

The action of environmental stimuli upon individual behavior and the reaction to this stimuli (the student's response) produce a change in the individual. This change is called learning.

On Stimulation

The title "Learning Stimulation," which was given to me as a temporary title until I could find one more appropriate, is the one that I have decided to keep. I have decided to accept it because the second word in the title stimulated me. For me this second word -- stimulation -- conjures up a whole series of historical events.

Man, since the beginning, has always searched for and created things and systems to stimulate himself and his friends. In my mind's picture frame, I see the history of alcohol-making, the changing exotic forms of the dance, not ignoring the forms of the dancers, succulent foods, religious rituals and icons, the Greek gymnasia and the Roman baths. I see a parade of medieval saints and California surfriders, the wild and wonderful world of the adolescent, the theatre, the sound of jazz and the sound of the human voice, the mushroom and sugar-cube eaters, a contemporary college scene, and the world museums: people.

Unfortunately, the arts are neither as easily packageable as liquor and LSD, nor as easily defined, ritualized, and widespread as religious dogma and physical gymnastics. But the arts are not without some structural system, which is definable and therefore distributable and programable to other men. The difference does not lie in the packaging but in the temporal requirements, the length of the educational program for the arts. The effect of alcohol may vary between twenty minutes and one hour upon intake. Hallucinatory drugs may produce a psychedelic experience and visions in a varying space of time. However, we do not have available on the market instant art assimilation and stimulation, although some of my students claim glorious art experiences are available merely on the intake of a sugar cube. If, indeed, they are right, we may have lost half our business. On the assumption that the psychedelic drugs have not resolved the whole problem of the education of the visual arts, I continue to present this paper.

This paper is presented in two parts. Part I is a general description of the last five years of educational research that I have done together with my associates, ending with a description of my present project at the National Training School for Boys in Washington, D. C. Part II includes recent explorations in the development of a visual program designed to involve young delinquent adults in a re-examination of themselves and their surrounding environment and provides a program which can help produce an individual who can more meaningfully affect his environment.

Part I - Developing Educational Environments

Experimental Freshman Year, Southern Illinois University

In an age where the university has expanded to such an extent that students feel that they have lost their individual identity and consider themselves breathing manipulative IBM cards, the creation of educational environments which permit the student the retention of his identity and a participating role which he can meaningfully play within his own education becomes a national critical design effort. Educational institutions in general and universities in particular do not hold a monopoly on learning environments. Although historically they represent the repository for books and men of good will, this position started to crumble with the invention of the Gutenberg press and the distribution of the first Bible.

The technology of education has been increasing at an explosive rate and in some aspects has followed the acceleration of the physical sciences; from printed paper to transworld color TV, from pen and ink and early record-keeping to IBM computer systems. Today man is as close to the world as his television screen, and information is available to him through books, films, tapes, records, teaching machines, and man himself. The new world man no longer sits in a fixed spot, but has educated himself through world travel and reading. He is a growing source of knowledge.

On examining some of the successful students who have come out of the Department of Design at Southern Illinois University, I recognized that among the top echelon of creative students were those who were previously considered by the university as poor risks. In some cases, they were throw-aways from other universities.

When President Morris of SIU confronted the university faculty with the question, "What are we going to do with the lower one-third of the high school graduating class?", I looked to the Department of Design to see how we were successfully affecting these young men and women who, in some cases, were also lower one-thirdnicks. The dropouts and failing rate of the Design Department for this lower third group was about 10 to 15 percent. The university percentage was closer to 85 percent. The following is a brief description of some of the differences both in the Design Department environment and the design curriculum in 1961 that I felt might be responsible for the difference:

1. Each design student had his own home base, a place where he could operate, keep his books, file his material, clothing, and work. It was in that space that he was able to express his own personality, surround himself with those images and things that he cherished: his girl friend's picture, a piece of sculpture, a weed, books, and so forth. He was a person within the multitude.

2. We kept the design building space open all day and all night so that students could operate on their own time schedule. Some students would work until two in the morning.

3. We created what we called "the space between," a meeting ground where we kept a coffee pot, coke machine, lots of chairs, an intimate lounge where the students could discuss anything they wished to.

4. We used critiques and individual exhibitions as a means of exposing the individual's newly gained knowledge and viewpoints not only to his peers, but to the design staff. By this means, by lecture, presenting himself, and exhibiting his work, he learned to stand up against criticism and prepare a logical argument in defense of his work and viewpoint. This also gave him an increased sense of pride in successful work.

5. The design curriculum was constructed in such a way that the problems that were given required that the student integrate the rest of his university experiences. Rather than give meaningless and easy "Mickey Mouse" problems, we presented problems which were relevant to his own contemporaries (his peer group) and those problems that the adult world is confronted with.

6. We found that we were presenting and receiving the predominant amount of our information through visual means -- slides, films, and models -- in order to communicate our basic

philosophical points of view. The reading assignments were used to help synthesize the visual experience and to reinforce the student's own personal experience that he had received in the various workshops and in his own work space.

There were many, many more differences that I examined, such as the giving of responsibility to the student and the use of the space for weekend activities. It was these differences that gave me the courage to ask for an opportunity to develop an experimental program for the sixty-six lower one-thirdnicks from the high school graduating classes in the state of Illinois. I developed the program with the help of my wife, Mrs. Mary Cohen, who handled the Verbal Study section; with Don Glickman, who was a graduate student in the Design Department, who handled the Visual Studies section; and with three other graduate design students who played various roles in the project. We used the holistic approach to develop the curriculum. We started by asking one of the largest questions that we could ask: for example, "What is the universe?" We ended up nine months later with a specific look at our local culture through the Sunday newspaper. We went from the whole to the particular.

General Studies Course, "Man's Contemporary Environment," Southern Illinois University

After the Experimental Freshman Year program and after spending two months at the Institute for Behavioral Research in Silver Spring, Maryland, with Dr. Israel Goldiamond and Dr. Charles B. Ferster, and after a four-month sabbatical, I returned to Southern Illinois University to produce a programmed design course for the general studies curriculum presented to the whole student body. One-half of the course was presented automatically on three screens, using color slides and tapes. Each basic statement was pre-sequenced by a visual image. The program was so developed that there were requirements for the student to fulfill before being able to participate in the live lecture session each week. If the student did not fulfill these requirements, not only could he not attend class, but it was possible for the student to receive a failing grade for the term at that specific time. This meant that the student did not have the option of wasting his time as well as the teacher's time. He could not sit and rot until the end of the semester. I stated my terminal objectives at the beginning of the course and attempted to fulfill them by the pre-sequenced automated lectures, live (in person) lectures, home reading texts, and lab assignments. I was assisted in this program by Mr. James Filipczak who is now my research associate at the Institute for Behavioral Research.

The Ecology of Education

All growing organisms must be supported. There are ecological requirements for growth whether they are the biological or physical phenomena. In order to grow, a plant is sustained by solar energy, rain, and earth's chemistry as well as the other flora and fauna which may not add only to its growth, but, in certain cases, also provide for its death. The American automobile is a complex phenomenon. It could not exist without a reciprocal complex phenomenon called American industry. Automobiles cannot function adequately unless we build roads for them to move upon. Nor can they function very long without a supply of oil, gasoline, and tires, some of which are produced from as far away as 5, 000 miles. Any building (any man-made or natural environment) is chained with umbilical cords to a sub-organism, street, then on to a next order, city, to a next order which is the surrounding state. I do not know how many people know where the electrical energy comes from which is supporting the air-conditioning and the light in the building they are now in, nor how many people know where the water supply originates, which comes out of the faucet in their home. Yet, without this network of pipelines, these umbilical cords which are under the surface of the earth, industrial man could not continue to operate. In the same manner, learning behaviors are not isolated in a vacuum, but are part of a growth which require an environment to sustain them.

Learning can be described simply as an additive phenomenon. For example, a child of three confronted for the first time with written numerations such as 2 + 2 with an = sign will ignore it. Simply, he would not respond appropriately by writing or indicating 4. Through an educational procedure, a child may come to respond with another bit of marking when confronted with the same question at a later time. If he then puts the number 4 which previously (before we had educated him) he could not respond to, we call this "learning to add." There is, however, another thing about learning, and that is that it requires not only an environment that produces learning behaviors, but one that maintains the newly acquired material. Each one of us has taken a course in college in which we were required, for example, to "learn calculus." If we have not used calculus, as I have not for at least eighteen years, we find that we are unable to pass a simple calculus exam without much review and much study. The question may be asked, "If learning is additive and we have put something into the so-called hopper, why is it not possible to conjure it up?"

The young men that we are dealing with at the National Training School for Boys (the project is explained under CASE I and II) have all gone to school at some time. Although most of them are dropouts, some of them still can perform some simple skills. Some of them, I am sure, even learned to multiply while in a school classroom. They even might have read Shakespeare. Then they went into their home environment -- for example, the Cardozo district in the District of Columbia or the East St. Louis slums -- to find that the use of Shakespeare had no meaning at home or in the pool hall. Generally, if a young man started to quote Shakespeare in a local pool hall, he would not find a very friendly or supporting group. In fact, his own friends, his peer group, would probably shun him. The difference between studying "Julius Caesar" in East St. Louis and studying "Julius Caesar" in the Lab School at the University of Chicago is that the community in Chicago tends to reinforce the children when they discuss such classics and consider it a sign of intelligence (a productive use of verbal behavior -- a source of coffee and coke chitchat). In fact, the parents of the University of Chicago high school population consider it essential for the growth of the young adult; whereas, in East St. Louis the question might be asked, "What's 'Julius Caesar' worth? Will this help me get a job? What use does it have with the gang?" The book itself might be economically worth 50¢ on the open market -- but unless there is a group of human beings who would consistently reinforce the above-mentioned slum environmental youngster, "Julius Caesar" dies indeed by many hands other than Brutus'.

Books (regular or programmed) are paper and ink. Films (black-and-white or color) are cellulose and sound waves, and lectures are "hot minds pushing sound waves." Books, films, and lectures become meaningful only when "there is something in it for the receiver." That "something-in-it" is the required condition for the first input, which is then sustained by a schedule of reinforcement and later maintained by an external surrounding environment.

CASE I

In February, 1965, as educational director for the Institute for Behavioral Research, I initiated a program at the National Training School for Boys. This program was called CASE -- Contingencies Applicable for Special Education. The purpose of this program was to see whether or not we could increase the educational behaviors of delinquent youths who have been institutionalized for crimes against the state. The objectives of CASE I were as follows:

1. To seek contingencies* that would maintain educational behaviors of young men who were past dropouts from school, as well as dropouts from life.

2. To develop a system for programming the educational material so that it can be taught to other staff members for use in the institution.

3. To submit (if the program were successful) a proposal for an expanded project. The expansion would include additional curricula, techniques, and students. Furthermore, the CASE I half-day educational program would be enlarged into CASE II's twenty-four-hour educational laboratory.

The Second Class Adolescent

The success of any democratic society is dependent upon the quantity and variety of choice for its citizens. With less opportunity for choice -- because of restricted intellectual, political, or financial avenues -- there is less opportunity for a high operational level of democracy. Historically, such a culture deprived of choice ceases to grow, is confronted with civil disorders, starts to decline, or changes to another form of government. The inmate population of the National Training School for Boys is, in essence, not different from the general educationally and culturally deprived adolescent group which constitutes our basic high-school dropouts and our unemployables. One of the major differences between these groups is that the population at the National Training School for Boys has been caught and sentenced for the end result of its deficiencies.

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* A contingency is anything that will maintain, increase, or decrease behavior. Thus, one contingency is whatever people will work for -- money, love, recognition, etc.

If we are interested in changing the behavior of an adolescent who is sentenced for a crime against society (i. e., a repeated car thief), there are many areas of behavioral education open to us. Crucial to the individual's ability to change (namely to solve his needs within the behavioral constraints established by a democratic society) is his ability to choose other alternatives, rather than the antisocial one now known to him. If an adolescent is reading at the third-grade level and is a dropout from school at the age of fourteen years, he has no real understanding of the larger society around him and has no basic repertoire which will enable him to acquire this understanding. The public school dropout is being maintained by a small group of peers who are at the same level of educational and cultural deprivation. His choice of employment, and therefore a high level of generalized reinforcement (money) either on a temporary or continuing level, is very small, lying generally in a disappearing section of unskilled physical labor. Primarily, he has one of three choices: to go on relief, to join a Federal institution such as the Armed Forces (providing he can pass the entrance examination), or to continue to receive his subsistence through the variety of antisocial behaviors open to him.

If we examine the behavioral repertoire requirements of the American adolescent we find that America demands, both by law and by business and professional prerequisites, a high school education as a bare minimum for industrial survival and a college education as a necessity for administrative success. The young school-dropout delinquent is aware of these requirements, and statements made to him such as, "Well, you can't read very well, so you won't make high school but why don't you get a job as a plumber's assistant or a laundry presser?" only reinforce his initial viewpoint -- that he is not very bright and is considered by you to be a second-class citizen. If it is "good" and necessary for the free, non-delinquent adolescent to complete school, read and write, and be prepared for a new technological revolution, then it is necessary and "good" for the delinquent to have the same goals.

The importance of producing a contingency-oriented environment which increases academic skills and maintains these newly acquired behaviors is not just to demonstrate and prove a learning theory and develop an educational technology. These newly acquired educational skills act as a program which reinstates in the young deviant the promise that he can be "normal." "Normal" in this case means that he can be successful in an area where he formerly was unsuccessful and, furthermore, that this success will provide him with the ticket to re-enter the mainstream of the American adolescent world -- the public school system and the choice of opportunities that follow. Values are not changed without a new academic grid. The proof is the university, and self-worth is not available to those individuals who are told at the beginning of their rehabilitation program that they cannot be like the rest, that they cannot learn to make the school system, that they should accept their lot (their stupidity).

It might be argued that it is unfair to tell a youngster with an IQ below 100, 90 or 80, that he can learn to read and write and do algebra like the rest of the middle-class socially adjusted adolescent group. After all, the school system has not been able to get these youngsters to succeed, and his past academic performance should be ample evidence of his inability to pass. The questions also may be asked, "Why establish false hope? Isn't this a false contract?"

The completed work in CASE I and the new data available to us in CASE II clearly demonstrate that it is not the youngster who has failed, but it is the public school system and the ecology that maintains that school system that has failed; that it is not the youngster who is mentally bankrupt, but that it is the public school system that is bankrupt.

The design and use of new schedules of reinforcement in a contingency-oriented environment, the use of programmed instruction, and the design of a new curriculum produce academically competent youngsters who now recognize that they are becoming successful in an area which was for them previously failure. This is no longer a laboratory theory but a proven fact.

Part II - A Visual Arts Program

What's in a Name?

To a sentenced delinquent, an individual who has been removed from society for his antisocial behaviors, the word "art" is synonymous with the word "queer." His further definition of queer is a "punk," a "homo," a "limp-wrist," and many other appellations which I shall not repeat. The product of the visual artist, if it is "good," is hung in museums and middle-class homes and has value. To such a youth, and to a large number of adults, the painting has values defined in terms of dollar signs. Everyday art for these youngsters is mainly distributed in F. W. Woolworth's and at the corner five-and-dime. Still another form is distributed in "art magazines" which openly display various parts of female anatomy. Another prolific art form is exhibited on bathroom walls. To each delinquent imprisoned at the National Training School for Boys, Art, with a capital A, is a varied proportion of all the previously mentioned classifications.

In my experience as a design educator, I have found that one of the most effective ways of getting a student to re-examine his environment -- and by the re-examination of the environment to examine himself -- was to involve him in a visual experience. A programmed exploration with various media and subjects permitted each student to experience the joys of discovery of newly formed visual relationships. This excitement furthered exploration not only with art media, but it opened an exploration into new human relationships -- an opportunity for the student to relate himself with the new world consequently available to him. But students who come to a university to study art and design are not frightened by brushes and paint, nor are they unwilling to look at the history of art and to explore and expose themselves to all forms of space (from architecture and theatre to dance and music) without the fears of the street and pool-hall "smear labels."

With the exception of one group of four students, most of the students I worked with at the National Training School for Boys would not or could not involve themselves in "art or drawing." These four made lots of drawings. Their drawings demonstrated their sexual immaturity through their inability to understand and draw a female body. I have never seen so many misplaced breasts and strange concepts of what and where the female reproduction center was. Because of these drawings, I gave two courses: one was on the male and the female body. In this one I delivered lectures on sex and showed films. I also brought in some books on the subject. I called the second course the Visual Language. I described the class-lab as "the science of seeing" -- I never talked about it as an art class. I described to the potential registrants that this class would show them how some old "truisms" are lies. For example, "seeing is believing," or "once something is, it is; it never changes," or "black is black and white is white." The proof is that they registered for the class. My first prerequisite for the class was accomplished: I had individuals to teach.

The Challenge of a Picture Plane

Confronted with a blank sheet of white paper, a person who is asked to make a mark on it -- a line, a dot, whatever -- is forced to make a decision. This is no easy task. No matter what the tool or the media, the making of the first mark is a dramatic exposition of an individual's ability to make a decision and to look at the results of his decision. Recognizing that this process is no small matter to a youth who has already experienced failure and social condemnation for his prior decisions and is self-classified as a dropout from life, I designed the early class problems with a step-by-step procedure guaranteed to involve the students in a successful decision-making process.

I ran this program twice a week, with three-hour sessions, for a four-week experimental period. I wished to find out how rapidly such a procedure, in a class situation, could involve the students in not merely a successful visual performance, but also could increase the student's ability to discuss the basic implications of the visual principles as it fit directly in looking at himself in the everyday world.

In order to introduce the student to the problems that a blank picture plane presents, I mimeographed four black lines on hundreds of sheets of white paper and I passed them out. Each student had ten to twenty pieces of paper with the same four lines on them. Everyone agreed that by measurement the four lines were equidistant from each other, meaning that they were parallel. I selected a few examples out of a book on visual perception, and demonstrated how it was possible to make these four lines appear nonparallel, to fool the eye. I took one of the sheets of paper, taped it to the blackboard, and within a few minutes, by adding new lines, I destroyed the illusion of parallelism. We spent quite some time talking about the phenomenon and what was taking place. Here was a case where we knew that the lines were parallel (we had measured them), but that by adding new lines, by visual manipulation, we made the truth appear false. They were rather excited by this system of "faking it" and I asked them to try other means of destroying the parallelism of these four lines. I gave them a ball-point pen as the tool because it had none of the arty connotations of a brush and it was safe. What you see in Figure 1 are the results of this first exploration, the first problem in the course.

At the end of the first session I taped each student's work on the wall, and we talked about whether each one worked or not. Did the lines still appear parallel? Some did; some didn't. This led into a discussion of what it takes to change not only four lines but anything that exists in space by adding or removing something to or from it. I made lots of "for instances," using all kinds of subject matter, but ending with people. I put on a beret which I had removed from my pocket. This broke them up; they roared with laughter. We then talked about how just a hat could change a person's appearance. They brought up all kinds of examples from "out on the street" as to how people could, by various means, effect a change in appearance. The discussion eventually got to how women very artfully manipulate themselves -- their facial features (by adding or subtracting lines and making marks in the right places), as well as what kinds of things and how much they wear. There was quite a bit of active participation as well as lots of "hee-haw" over statements about "babes" putting stuff on their breasts to make them look larger, etc. The point was made. I was able to go from a specific visual experience -- a piece of paper with lines -- to a discussion which led into a fruitful area of human exploration and experience. Because I had made the break, I was in and the class was on its way.

The second session was devoted to circles and squares and their distortion or destruction. These were also mimeographed on white and yellow paper in advance. Again, I gave out a large quantity. I also explained that this was a bit more difficult. Since we were dealing with areas, rather than lines, we needed the use of other tools to assist us at the task.

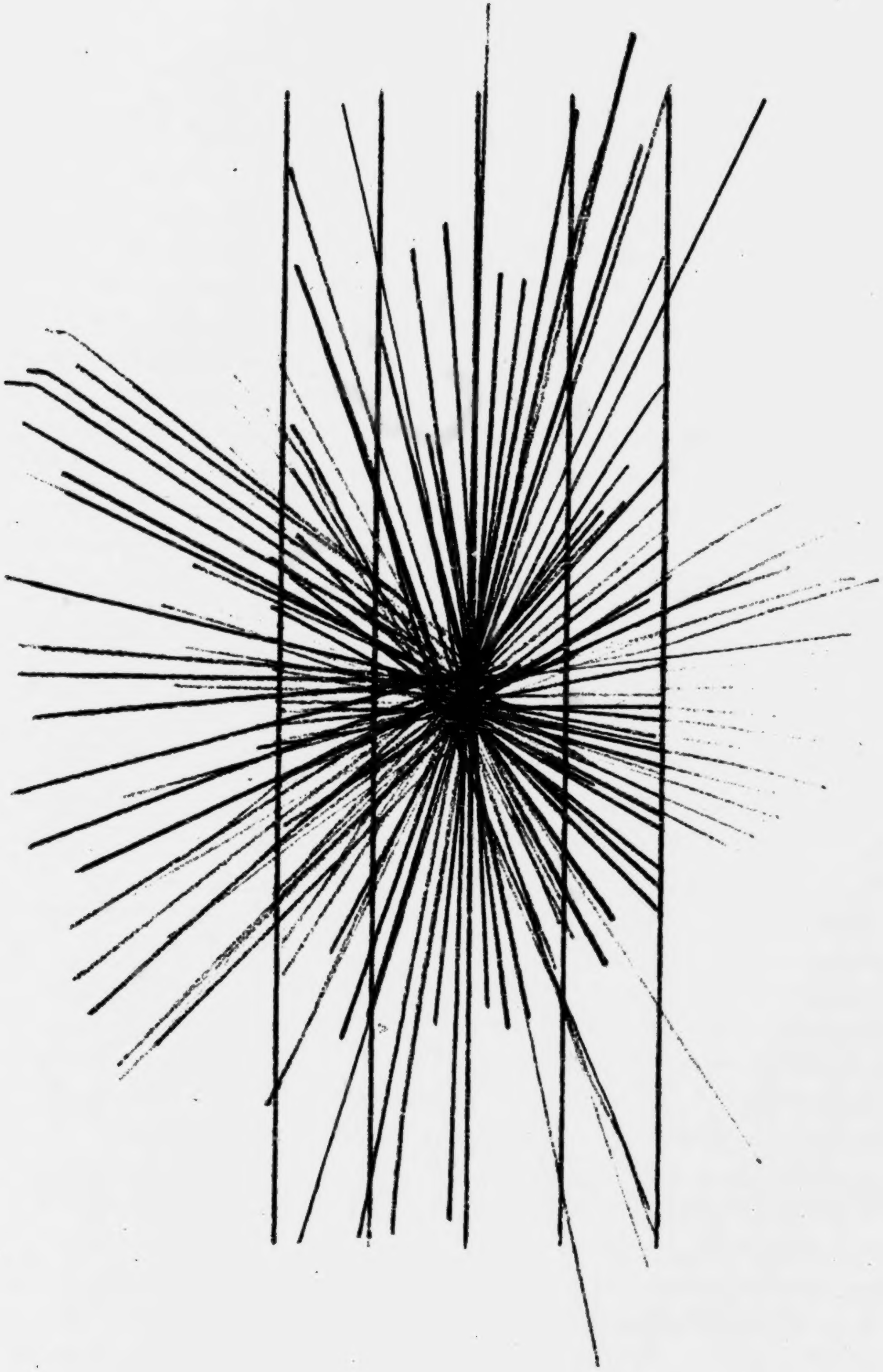


Figure 1

I therefore introduced color. Rather than using brushes and paint, I passed out twelve color pens for each group of four students. This gave us "instant color" with the least amount of effort (see Figure 2), and also brought four students around a table working and talking together. They were able to receive additional visual stimulation and praise from their peers as they worked. The colors were bold and available in front of them. They dried as they were used and the excitement mounted with time use. The noise level was increased until it filled the room. For the next phase, I handed out mimeographed sheets of paper where there were one, two, three, and nine squares on a page. The problem was to take identical squares and by adding color on the inside and outside to see whether or not we could make them larger or smaller -- to make them different, or make the boundary, the defined limits, disappear.

This problem opened more awareness of exploration, with less problem restriction. In a very short time the students went wild with exploring the use of these colors in all kinds of situations. Everything was possible and permissible because we were not dealing with the real world. We were not coloring apples, trees, and houses. By starting with defined abstract problems, I gave the students greater freedom. We were explorers attempting to discover new means of solving a problem. I wish I could have recorded for you the sense of excitement that was generated by this wild, almost frenetic, use of those squeaky pens (they do squeak) and the large amount of paper that was consumed in the task. The results, Figures 3 and 3A, are but a small example of those three hours. I guided the discussion that followed step-by-step until eventually we were discussing the problems of how it is possible that the same form looks different in a different environment. Whereas in the earlier problem a change within the form, or on the form, affected the object, the same object in a different environment was differentially affected by what surrounded it. We talked about how things can fit naturally in certain environments, but, when placed in a new environment, may jump out, stick out, be a misfit. For example, a yellow square surrounded by a yellow ochre area looked different from the same yellow square surrounded by a red area. The yellow color was affected by that which surrounded it. One could not accurately discuss yellow and describe it unless one could also discuss and describe its surrounding environment. This time the discussion was led

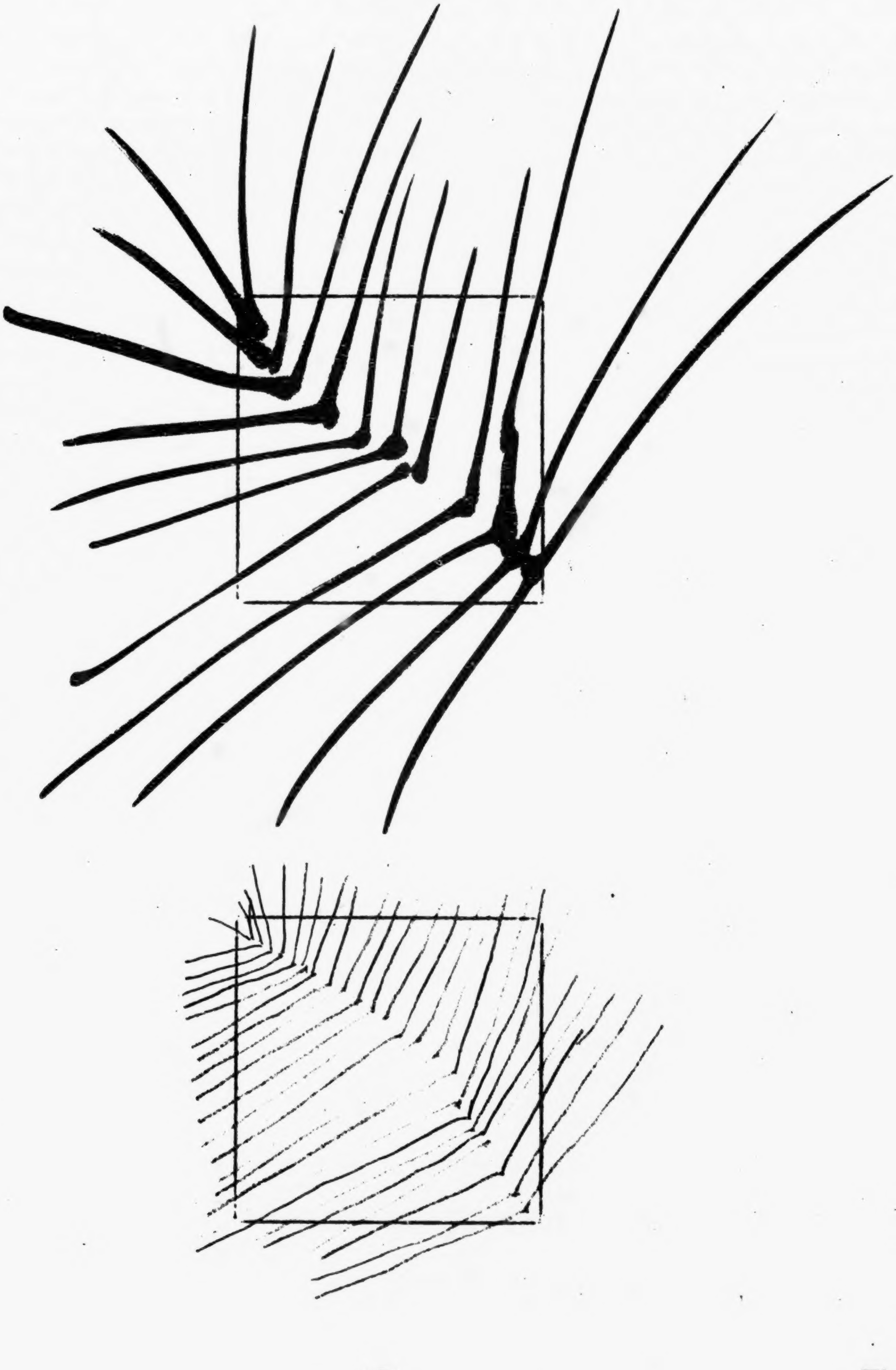
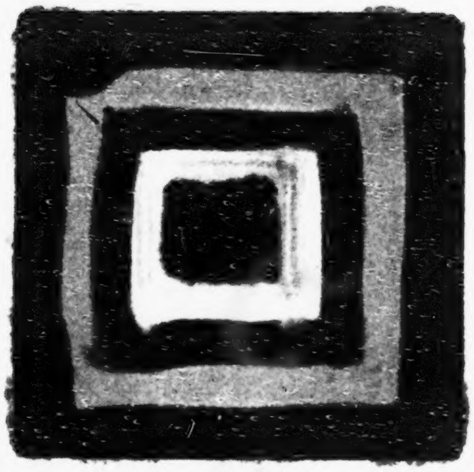


Figure 2



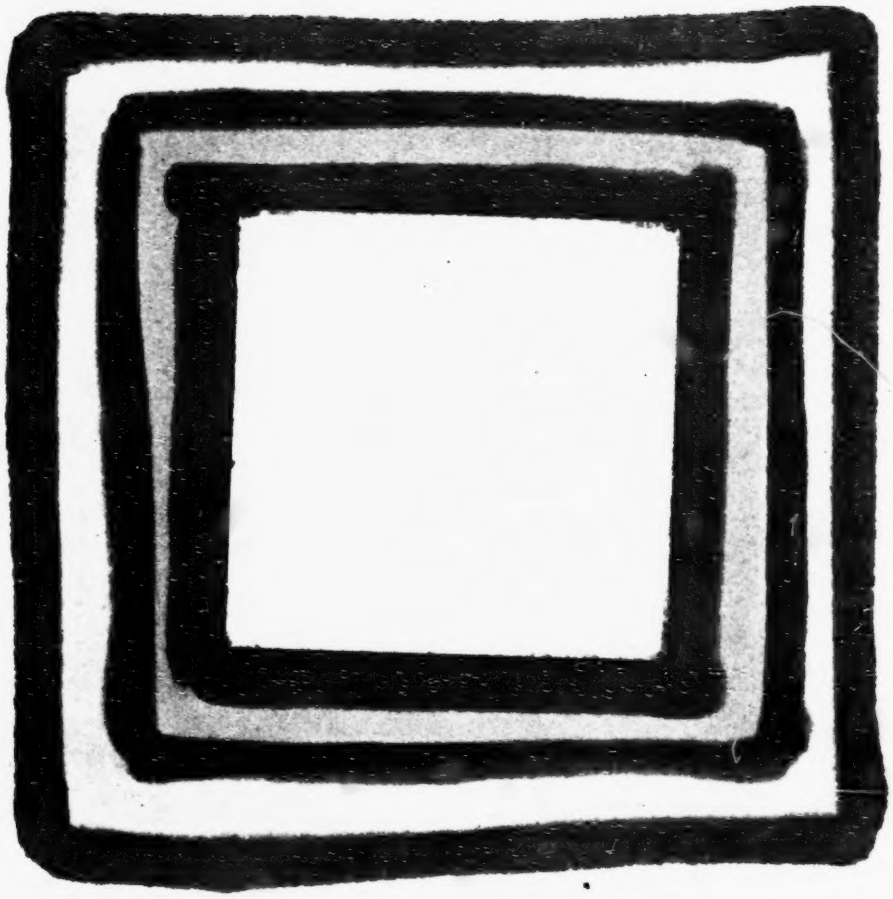


Figure 3

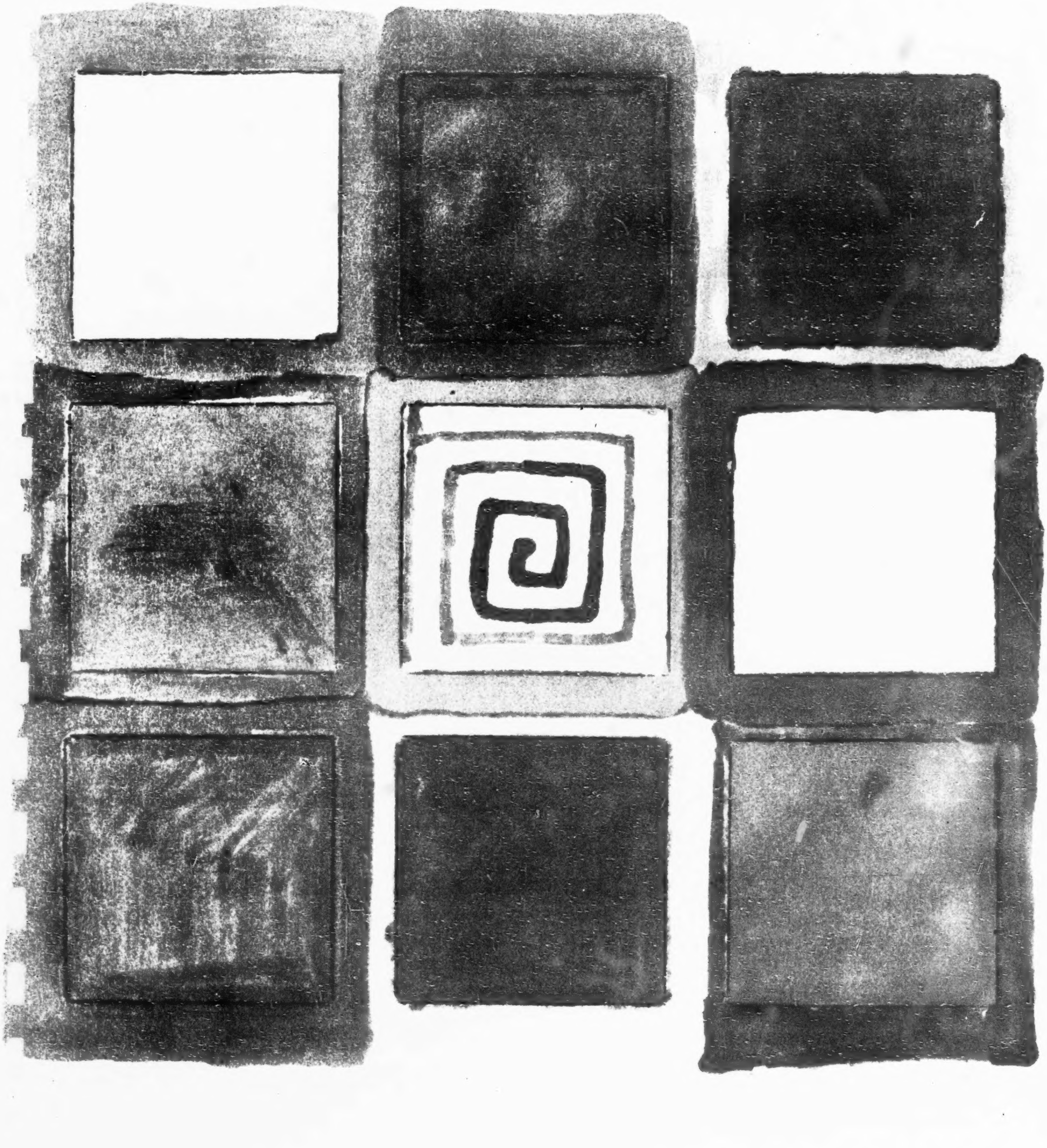


Figure 3A

quite rapidly into people's living in different places, rooms, neighborhoods, cities. We talked about people being affected by their environment. We talked about people being depressed when it rained or that in the same environment when the sun shone they felt differently. We talked about people being removed from one environment and being placed in another and how sometimes they felt uncomfortable because they were unable to remain the same and how men had to adjust just as much as some of the colors changed and picked up a new look because of a new color environment. We looked at colors that clashed and vibrated as if alive. A combination of violet and orange was painful to look at. We interwove our discussion of color and people, and soon we were talking about the students themselves.

The major point, my terminal objective relative to these class problems, is that the visual-exploration problems presented these students with a nonverbal tool for examining the social and environmental conditions that surrounded these culturally deprived youngsters. These class problems presented behavioral principles which were understandable to them, for they were available in front of them -- right there on a piece of paper. There was no difficulty in going back and forth from the visual form to discussing certain problems of adjustment arising out of stimulus change, because it was a natural outgrowth of the visual exercise which each student himself had performed.

At the third week, when I gave out blank pieces of paper and asked the students to explore how one could warp a plane, destroy a surface (Figures 4, 4A, and 4B), the students were not only able to plunge into the problem easily, without fear of failure, but they were able to easily get involved in a discussion of man's effect upon his environment -- how in historical time, man had learned to reshape his earth to fulfill his physical and spiritual needs. The students talked about and learned to recognize that everything that existed in their neighborhood and the rest of the city was the result of a series of decisions made by man. We discussed the fact that a predominant number of our decisions is based upon economic and physical need and that there are other areas of environmental decision which affect the "manscape" that are based upon what we think looks good to us. We concluded that we need a sense of well-being: the stuff that sends us, gives us pleasure, another definition for culture and aesthetics. We started looking

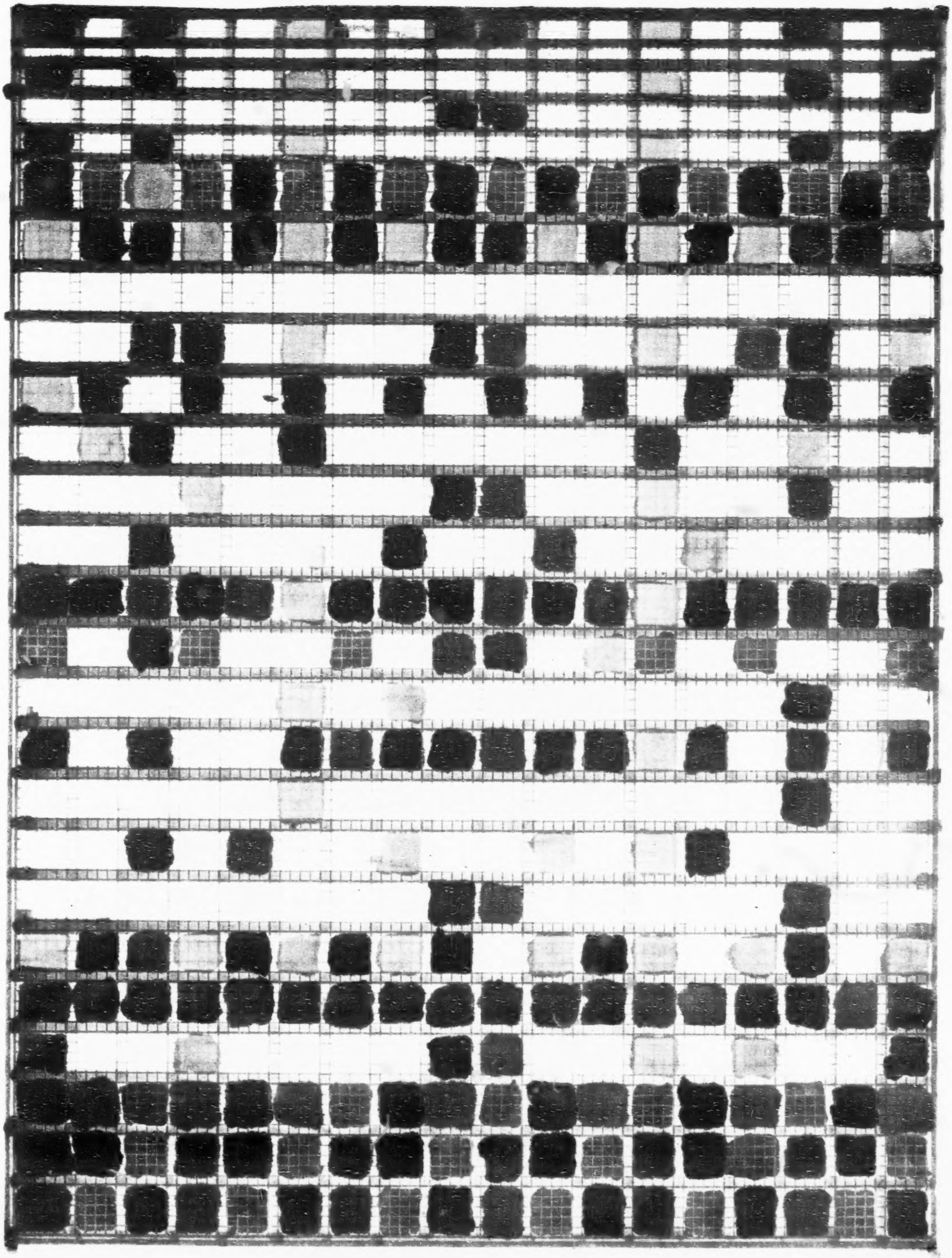


Figure 4

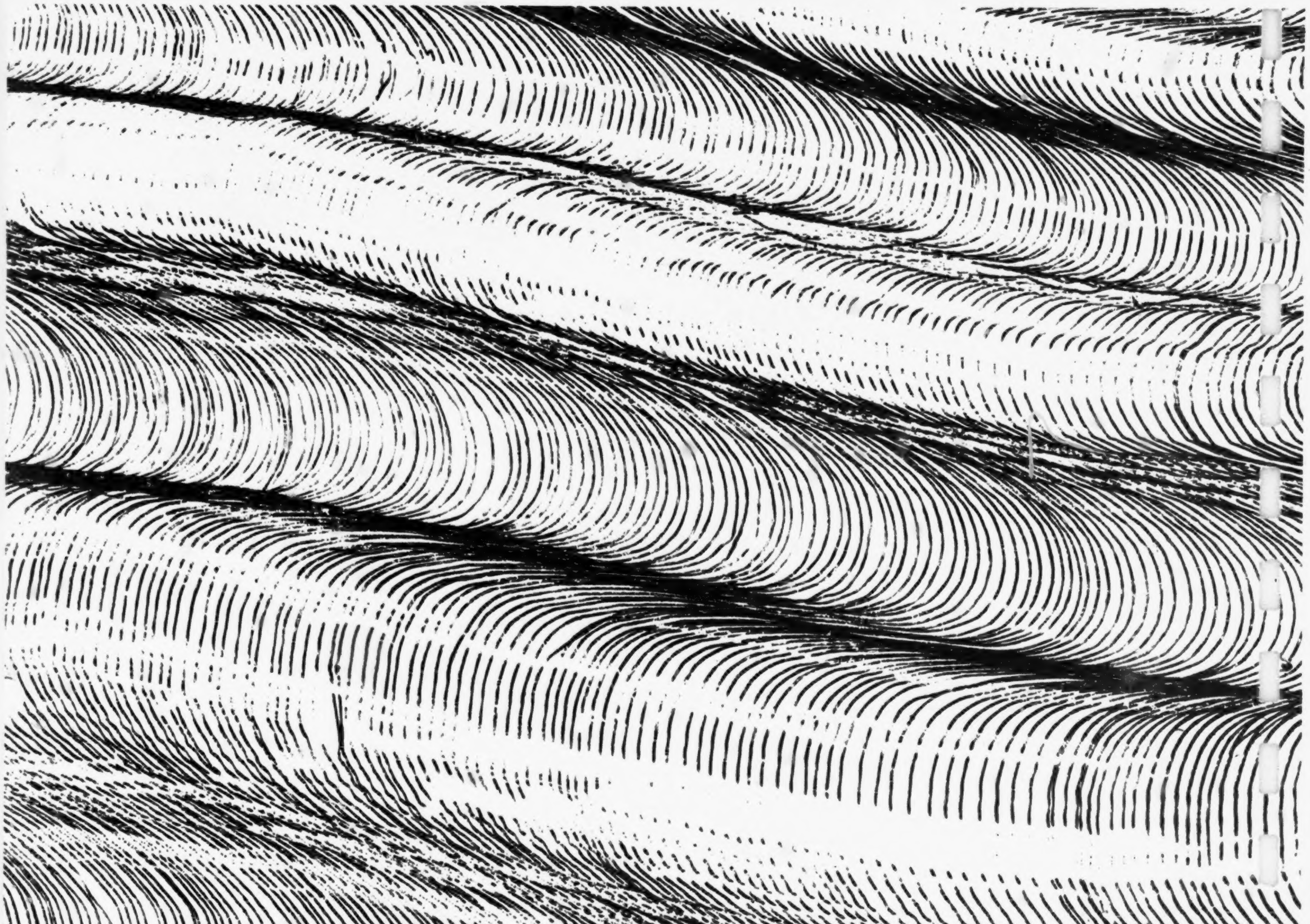

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Figure 4A

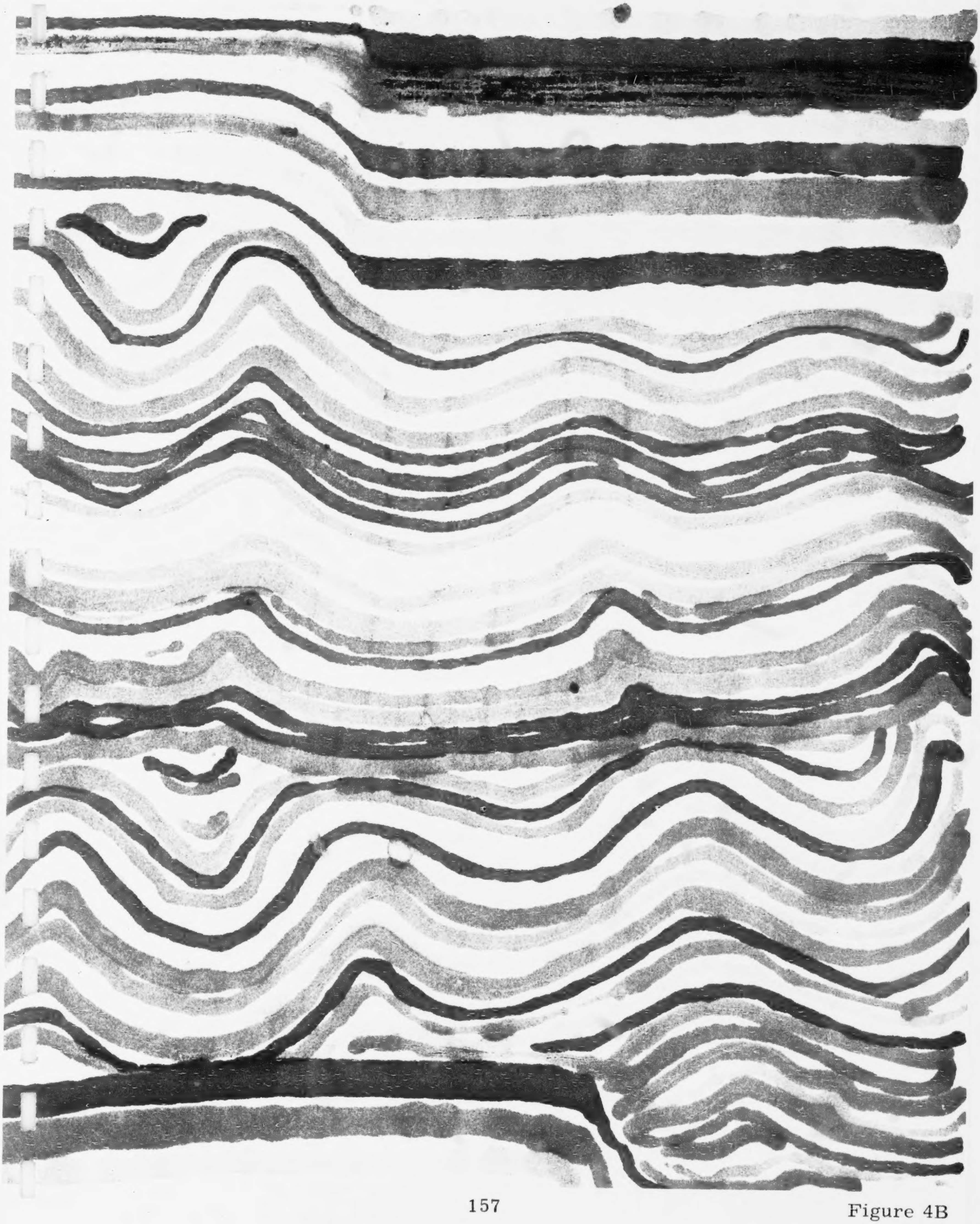

Figure 4B

at buildings, trees, drawings, paintings, and at people, and we talked about them in this new way. We talked about where and how a man lives -- the stuff that he sees all day, the place where he sits and sleeps. The students became conscious of what was around them: places, things, and people.

In Conclusion

I am encouraged by the research that we have completed thus far, for the results in educational growth have shattered the old myths. My present students, who are the failures of the poverty pockets of America, and who have been labeled dull-normal slow learners and generally considered useless as well as dangerous human beings, are learning and growing at a rapid rate. In the past they were treated as second-class adolescents and have responded in kind.

Given a new educational program based on a new environment -- one which recognizes the need for individual choice and the power of visual cues -- we have brought every one of these youths past the old predicted levels of performance. It now appears possible that these young Americans can re-inject themselves back into the mainstream of the nation as first-class adolescents. Their terminal goal is first-class citizenship.

The value of any learning program can only be measured by the accrued intellectual and emotional wealth of its participants. For that final proof you'll have to meet the students, the major end-product of these educational efforts.

EXCERPTS FROM THE DISCUSSION WITH MR. COHEN

Audience: How do you keep track of the kids in your system?

Mr. Cohen: We keep what we call behavioral notes -- the kid's associations and what he does with his time, how he handles a fight, for example. We watch when guys come in, and I interview them. The levels of bigotry -- we have America in there, of all kinds. We have the sexual pervert. We have the race-monger. The white racist and Negroes who hate whites. We have the whole bunch. Well, we have a very interesting kind of structure, which allows a kid to challenge and to open himself to the system, through the Committee for Student Affairs. He writes and we check his letters, and we see what's going on. And we do have psychiatric care, and the guy pays, for example, for counselling service. We had one young man who used to masturbate between eight and ten times a day. And sometimes this behavior was exhibited. We did not tell him that masturbation was bad. We just asked him to keep a record, and we also said, "O. K. , from now on, " -- we have a private shower in our place for a quarter -- "You can do it, you know, with great pleasure. Pay a quarter. Be a sport. " You know, "Stop. Go down and shower. " Eventually, this young man did not masturbate in public. He would masturbate in his own room or in the shower, and it was broken down to the point where he was saying, "Mr. Cohen, nothing today. " And I said, "Great. " [LAUGHTER] Now, I'd like to point out a very interesting situation with this young man. He went home, just before he was finally paroled. We got him paroled. Came back the next day and he was in tears. His mother's lover had raped and cut up his sister. And he went back and he went looking and he said, "I was going to kill him. " And he said, "I decided to come back. " And he came back. Now, that's a phenomenal situation. One week later, he went back into that environment. They are all living together, the mother, the lover, the son, and I don't know how on earth anyone can hold, but he does hold, and I think it's a fantastic thing. I don't know why or how one can hold under such conditions, but there is a changed history of reinforcement of that environment, which is maintaining.

Audience: Can you tell anything about the administrative structure of the place?

Mr. Cohen: Right. Well, I had to design a whole new administrative system and a procedure for running a prison, in order to keep 24-hour control. There is myself, in the structure, and then I have the two designers that I brought with me, because when I am not there one or the other is in charge. Under that set-up, then, you have the woman who runs the teaching part, from the Bureau of Prisons, and we have an officer, a psychologist, and the data control, the banking system. We worked out the following. As I said there is a Committee for Student Affairs and each student has the right of petition. The kids organized a student government. It is not very strong now because they use the letter system and they can appear in person and protest, you know. One day they even ran a strike. I thought it was just simply marvelous. The

Bureau felt that this was going to end up in a riot, but it didn't. At first we had the price of a pool table, very, very high. They finally wrote a letter complaining and said: "We recommend that you call six pool halls in Washington and two in Maryland and take the average and that should be the rate." And we said fine. And we went that way. So there are ways of working that structure out. It's the old story. It's the slot-machine procedure. If you get paid off at a variable schedule at a variable rate, like a slot machine, sometimes you win five nickels, sometimes the jackpot, the slot machine maintains your behavior. Life, in the normal environment of the city, is a slot machine. But in your deprived pockets, it's not. Life is too set, and that's one of the problems. It isn't that America doesn't work. America works very well, on that variable base and variable schedule.

Audience: What kind of things have been done, working in streets and cities, where the kids begin to do these things?

Mr. Cohen: I don't know. The reason, as I pointed out, that I came to the prison was to make the laboratory and get the data and develop a curriculum. Hopefully, we will have completed our research and give them a beginning stage of the total curriculum. H. E. W. will produce this and give it away, with the system and the procedures. We've just started a training institute, and we're bringing fifty people together and starting that procedure. Little by little, we will produce people who can make their own designs, because you have to find -- out in the environment -- what's working, and in an open system, obviously, you have to look for different kinds of reinforcements. You have to look for different contingencies. For example, in East St. Louis, where we are developing a whole college this way, an experimental college funded by O. E. O. and by the Department of Labor and by the university, it is the same schedule, in a sense, and it's an open system. We're using programmed instruction. The teacher is there, at that moment when the kid has something to give him, which he has successfully done. The teacher then sends him on to the next. The human learns through reinforcement step by step. It doesn't cost millions at all, if you don't put the money into the space, if you take the space which you've got. In the old program at the prison, the training costs almost $6,000 a year per inmate. My program -- with our own catering service and our own clothes business and giving the kids money -- costs not quite $4,000. It's a very simple thing in America. Something is on sale and that's what's swinging the system. Because the Federal Bureau of Prisons is changing. It's going to change its entire system now and it does a better job and it's economically feasible. It saves money. And we still must remember that, in the long run, you've got to make sure that it should be not too much more expensive. At first, the Bureau of Prisons people were frightened. But now they are not, because they are the ones that are doing it. More and more, my staff is practically all Bureau of Prisons. I'm practically programming myself out.

Audience: You are creating a new state in the society, for people to live in, actually.

Mr. Cohen: And for the prison, a new way to be successful, because they were supposed to rehabilitate people, and they weren't doing it. And if you can get them to do their job better and they get credit for it, they are going to let you in. But my viewpoint is that we have to develop a system others can use, and I think our job -- and we do have special talents, because we are from the arts -- we do see the whole, all the time, all the time, you know. It's not just written. It's true.

Audience: Harold, you've been talking about reinforcement in terms of extrinsic rewards. What role does competence and intrinsic rewards have? Do you take account of the kind of intrinsic satisfactions that are acquired from having developed competency in the execution of an act, irrespective of whether someone else pats them on the back or not?

Mr. Cohen: Yes, but I can't measure it. I can only think of it in terms of the observable behaviors that are recorded. But I can't measure that one, and I believe it's going on. But because I have tried to narrow myself to only measure the observable behavior, you see, to be able to develop some sort of system, I can't do that.

Audience: May I ask, do you operate on the principle that the system is wrong and the organism is right?

Mr. Cohen: The organism is always right. The proof is in the pudding. When the youngsters ask the various questions, you know, like "What's in it for me?" That's a basic question I think human beings do ask. All of us have a payoff of some kind. Take an environment, for example, where you can make as much or more money being a pimp or a whore, for example, and where you can steal and get away with it. The kids who have come to me have given me the following data: you can steal approximately sixteen cars in the Washington area before you get caught once, which is a very high payoff, for stealing. In other words, what's in it to steal? A very good proportion of success. And the stealing then pays, and the performance of the individual in the culture is in direct proportion to the payoff. There is a kid who comes in and say he is reading at sixth-grade level and you say to him, "Don't worry about school. It's not really for you. Why don't you get a job as a presser?" So he says, "Aha! Now I'm a second-class citizen. I am told that I am not very bright. And I can't make it." But yet he reads in the papers that education is important: "If you want to get ahead, stay in school. Go to college." He knows very well it's a double standard. What I have recognized is that these kids know that they are being treated as second-class adolescents when we tell them: "School is not for you." So I insist that school is critical, because it's the only way they are going to get back into that mainstream where everybody is making it. Most of our kids, whether they be white or Negro, are lied to constantly about this. The assumption is that they can't grow, that they can't learn, that they are wrong. We try to teach them to differentiate cues. A kid learns, for example, that we have certain bigoted men working with us. And he learns to differentiate in front of them, versus the others. They come in to us and say, "So-and-so doesn't like us." And I say, "Right. He works for the Bureau." "Well, fire him," they say, and I say: "I can't fire him. That's the way life is. Some people don't like you. When you walk outside, are they going to like you?" They learn to differentiate their behavior. We're not making that kind of a fake world. This isn't the Salvation Army -- you know, goodness and light following everybody around. Our place is filled with problems. And the kid learns to differentiate his own behavior on the basis of the people that he's with and the situations that he's in, and he learns that in certain situations, certain performances work. He learns how to say, "Pardon me." He learns that he can say to his friends, "The hell with you," but you don't say that to your boss, or you'll get fired. He learns to differentiate his behavior, because of the consequences that appear. He must learn that himself and I think environment helps him, you see. If someone says to you, "Hey, nigger," -- I mean, that's what they do. Now, how do you respond? That's a question. How do you respond there, if the guy is his boss, and he has got to, you know, feed his kids. The interesting thing is that the place is filled with all of these kinds of problems. The mark of learning is a correct decision. Being correct or not correct. You watch kids when, for example, they hit a program which is out of sequence and they fail the test. You know, everything blows up. When a kid fails, he has to learn, well, O.K., you go back and do it again. But sometimes you check: "My God, the program is wrong. Everybody is making mistakes on that one." But you have to be able to give him an opportunity to make these mistakes, to program himself and to experience failures, right there in the environment. We do not go around Mickey Mousing and saying everything is just lovely, and on the other hand we don't say everything is just bad. We say: "Learn to distinguish and differentiate the cues in the environment, and you can smell them." These guys are superb. I mean, they are so sensitive to visual cues. I mean, when you can plan a robbery and you know what to do every moment -- these kids can really plan, and in fact, probably these kids have tremendous sensitivity to cues in people's behavior. When I take a new staff member on, you know how I tell if I'm going to hire him? I walk him around. And see the kids' reactions and his reactions -- how the thing goes on, and how they behave. And they can smell him. It's the kid's process. He has to learn to put it together.

Audience: Well, are these things innate? That's what I'm trying to find out.

Mr. Cohen: No. They are taught. I would have to say that I can't prove that it's innate. But I can prove that you can teach it.

Audience: If we know it. Where did we get it from?

Mr. Cohen: We got it by going to all the people, our teachers and so on who taught us. We all went through some procedure, whether it be theatre or dance -- you know, there is a terrific kind of procedure and ritual which has made us sensitive and we just didn't come that way.

Audience: Harold, would you be surprised to find out that you were turning out a group of much more intelligent and skillful thieves?

Mr. Cohen: That's a very interesting question. We once asked ourselves the question. Maybe the reason they are not getting back in is because they're smarter. I will never know if it's true.

Audience: Do you have enough rapport with them by the time they are finished, to really have some follow-up?

Mr. Cohen: Yes. And we're starting follow-up now.

Audience: There are other places where people have been able to follow up, where people tell them: "Yes, they steal." Couldn't you find this out?

Mr. Cohen: Probably could. And it would be interesting to see what does happen. This is true. It's quite possible.

Audience: I'm not sure I'd consider that a bad outcome. But I just --

Mr. Cohen: I don't know. Maybe they're on a higher level. Maybe income-tax evasion. [LAUGHTER]

Audience: What happened to your program at Illinois, after you left?

Mr. Cohen: Oh, that program was just for one year and then they went right back into the regular university. It was only meant for one year, you remember --

Audience: Oh, but I mean, what happened then? Nothing going on now?

Mr. Cohen: No. But it was adopted. Now we have an experimental college, which has the use of the experimental freshman-year curriculum and approach, the contingency-oriented environment, plus the new stuff that turns up, and now it is pulled together into a new college in East St. Louis, which is the joining together of these two basic experiments. So that's where it ended, and we now have a two-year curriculum being planned for, and in April the state may create a four-year and then, hopefully, a graduate school, to produce people who will go out and create new environments.

THE CONFERENCE PROCEEDS: MIDWAY EVALUATION AND WORK GROUPS

On Thursday, November 17th, after all the formal papers but one had been delivered, Melvin Tumin presented a midway evaluation of the conference.

Although he prefaced his remarks by saying that he would leave all "genuinely evaluative" remarks until the end of the conference so that he could "leave immediately," Mr. Tumin nevertheless plunged into the sensitive "artist vs. educator" controversy which seemed to divide the participants into "appreciators, creators, and intuitionists at one pole vs. critics, analysts, and evaluators on the other." Mr. Tumin said that since both groups have common goals, they should learn to "use each other."

The conference had already decided, Mr. Tumin found, that art could reflect, evaluate, or change reality, or it could create a new reality. Now, he continued, it was the function of the participants to decide which function of art applied to which needs of the disadvantaged. This would depend on what ends were to be achieved, and so the formulation of goals was declared to be the crucial job of the conference. Whatever goals were decided upon, Mr. Tumin cautioned his audience, -- from art-for-art's sake to art-as-social-action -- leaders in art education should remember that these goals are as applicable to middle-class children as they are to the disadvantaged. And researchers must be able to test progress toward the accepted goals in order to convince non-believers of the importance of art.

After Mr. Tumin's remarks, the participants divided into work groups, which met for a total of seven hours on Thursday and Friday. The composition of the groups was as follows:

Work Group I	Work Group II
Edward Mattil, Chairman	Jerrold Ross, Chairman
Margaret Bingham, Rapporteur	Muriel Greenhill, Rapporteur

Work Group I (continued)

Francis Bosworth
Tom Dent
Elliot Eisner
Terry Hughes
Ted Katz
Jim Kelly
Lloyd New Kiva
Lucille Krasne
Alvina Krause
Milton Lyon
Dorothy Maynor
Murray Ortof

Work Group II (continued)

Nina Collier
Julian Euell
Ann Flagg
Fritz Ianni
Diana Lorenz
Margaret Mahoney
Francis Merritt
Douglas Pedersen
Noah Purifoy
Pat Reynolds
Melvin Roman
Ronald Silverman
Aram Tolegian
Shelley Umans

Group I stayed together during the Thursday afternoon session, then split up into two sections on Friday morning. Francis Bosworth chaired the second section, which concentrated on means of getting support for art programs. Mr. Mattil's section in general reviewed various ways to bring art to the disadvantaged.

Jerrold Ross divided Group II into two sections on Thursday afternoon. Melvin Roman chaired a section on art education in informal settings (in the street, in settlement houses, etc.) while Mr. Ross chaired a section on art education in the schools. The two sections rejoined each other later Thursday (and Mr. Ross's final report includes the findings of Mr. Roman's section as well).

At the final session of the conference, on Saturday afternoon, the chairmen summarized the findings of their work groups and their recommendations for future action. (See p. 233)

PANEL DISCUSSION WITH INDIVIDUAL ARTISTS

On Friday afternoon, the conference heard a panel presented by three artists -- Dorothy Maynor, Budd Schulberg, and Lloyd NewKiva -- which was followed by a brief colloquy.

Chairman Hanna T. Rose: This afternoon we are fortunate to have with us three people who are recognized artists in their own right but who are here with us because they are now devoting themselves to work in the areas of our concern. I suggest that we plan this panel a little differently from our other sessions. We will have each member speak and then allow for time for them to discuss the presentations among themselves before we throw the discussion open to all of you.

Our first artist is Mr. Budd Schulberg whose own work is familiar to you and I hope that all of you saw the television program "The Angry Voices of Watts." We are fortunate that Mr. Schulberg could fly here from California to tell us personally of his work in Watts. Mr. Budd Schulberg -

Budd Schulberg: Just off embattled, embittered 103rd Street, the mainstream of Watts, stands a pale-green two-story stucco building. It stands alone now because everything around it was burned to the ground in the Eight Days That Shook Los Angeles. It is called Westminster Neighborhood Association, a social service agency backed by the Presbyterian Church. Troubled young men were being encouraged to come in off the hot streets where there was nothing to do but grumble about The Man and how he finally had thrown more firepower at the brothers than they could handle.

Westminster was offering classes for illiterates, teenage and adult. There were dancing classes and some basic English and Negro history. There was an unadorned assembly hall where kids banged on an old out-of-tune piano and formed spontaneous singing groups and put on haphazard variety shows. There was some psychiatric help and efforts to assist depressed families in the nearby housing projects.

An energetic, plain-speaking young social worker from CCNY guided my first tour of Miseryland, the dark side of the shimmering Angeles moon. "Most of these kids have just gotten out of jail," he explained. "Some of them were leaders in the Revolt. Others were just standing on corners watching when they were handcuffed and dragged in."

I heard myself asking the inevitable question of the concerned white visitor: "Is there anything I can do? Is there anything one person -- not an organization, but just one person -- can do?"

"Don't send Johnny Roseboro or this year's star quarterback," was the hard and challenging answer. "Most of our kids are high-school dropouts but that doesn't mean they are dumb. I can show you dropouts with I. Q.'s of 150. These kids are so frustrated they're going out of their minds. Some of them literally. They need motivation -- stimulation -- you said you were a writer. Maybe you could try a writers' class."

I put a notice on the Westminster bulletin board: "Creative Writing Class -- all interested, please sign below." I came back week after week. Nobody signed below. I just wandered around. A few people glared at me. I felt unwanted. And yes, I felt a little afraid. But I got talking to a 19-year-old I had met a couple of weeks before. Charles Johnson. He had been in jail. He had had his troubles. "I got things to write about," he said, "only I don't know if they're stories." He told me a few. I said, "Stories aren't fancy things like the Arabian Nights. These things you've been doing, what you did in the uprising last month, what happened in jail, what you're thinking about now -- that's what writing is."

So Charles Johnson became the charter member of what is now known as Watts Writers Workshop -- or W3 -- and pretty soon the writing class was growing. There was a mysterious 18-year-old who had dropped out of Jordan High School in his junior year, the same year he had left the home of his stepmother and ten half-brothers and sisters, living thereafter from hand to mouth with many meals not passing from hand to mouth for many days. He looked like a shy, unathletic, unkempt, underdeveloped Cassius Clay. He handed me a poem. It was titled "Infinite." I read the first line and stared at him in wonder. It read: "Never know a begin of me." And it continued:

Never know a begin of me
Death God gave to me
Never know an end of me
Life God take from me
Never know proof of Infinite
Time God save for me
Always know of me
Heaven and hell infinite.

It was signed Leumas Sirrah. Each week after that, Leumas handed me three or four new poems. One was called "Godandman." Another, "Me, I'm Black." "One, Two, Three" was published in Los Angeles Magazine. A page headed "Three Young Poets From Watts" also included the work of Johnie Scott, 20, and Jimmy Sherman, 22. The poems are too long to sample here. But overnight we -- W3 -- found ourselves discovered. TV news shows asked if they could come down to photograph the work of the class. The poets were invited to read their works on television. The BBC got into the act. A special assistant to Sargent Shriver called to say that this work could lead to a new conception of encouragement for creative talent in the big city ghettos. Three publishers approached Johnie Scott, who could be the James Baldwin of 1970. Steve Allen asked if he could set one of Jimmy Sherman's poems to music. And Leumas Sirrah -- twice bailed out of jail where he had been charged with armed robberies he did not commit -- was writing poetry that reminded three different professional writers, quite independently, of the works of William Blake. I asked Leumas if he had ever read Blake. "Blake?" he said. "Blake who?"

By the early part of this year, January of '66, we sort of outgrew the small room, and that was the only place at Westminster that they could spare at that time. It's a very overworked social agency. It grew so fast, that when I went down there, the staff was five people, and it's now about one hundred, and so it was just sort of an empty, sort of beaten-up, stucco building, but as the Y. T. E. P. Program grew -- this Youth Training and Employment Program -- it was suddenly bursting at the seams, literally bursting by the way, not just figuratively. The walls were kind of cracking.

We then moved over to a very interesting place about two blocks away on 103rd Street. It's called the Watts Happening Coffee House and there was a kind of crazy grass-roots arts movement taking place there. The walls were just covered with paintings. I thought nine-tenths of them were pretty bad, but the amazing thing was that they were painting, and the so-called hard core kids, the ones who were doing the painting, some of these so-called hard core kids, the fellows with the Molotov cocktails and so forth, were also in my class.

We got up to about twelve people, and the work was kind of, I would say, flourishing. Many people had not gone through school. Some older people began to join and expressed an interest in writing that I would not have expected. We had, in a way -- we had success beyond our dreams. I found myself in terrible danger of having dug a full-time job for myself.

A woman by the name of Birdell Chew, 55 years old, whose work when I first looked at it -- I just glanced at it, and of course I said to myself, "Gee, she's just illiterate, can't spell. Her punctuation is just mad. She'll put a semicolon for a question mark, and a period for a comma, " and when I first looked at it, I put it away with the shudder of an English teacher. Then I took a second look and a third look, and I just did the things that I'm criticizing, I rightly or wrongly removed the small grammatical errors, put the periods in the right place. I fixed up the syntax a little bit. I crossed out a couple of double negatives. I didn't do very much to it. It looked like an awful lot, on the page, if I could show it to you. It looked as if I had changed in every line about four or five things, but they were all very minor. They were all just technical.

I'll just describe it briefly. It's part of a novel that she's working on. It's called "The Promise of Strangers, " and in the first chapter there are two little kids in a swamp in Louisiana, in a house with many children, and the father is a black field-worker, and there are so many children that when they get to be ten or eleven, they just kind of wander off. They don't even, like a good sergeant, even take a body-count, or a bed-count, at night, and they just wander off, and they're just totally uncared for, and it's a little boy and a little girl about five or six years old, and they go through a swamp.

They get to love the swamp, and they get to know about the wildlife. They learn a great deal in the swamp, but one day they go further than they ever have before, and they get to the far end of it, and there they see something that they cannot understand. It's a little white building, and it has a pole with sort of a big colored rag on the top of it, and it has a big bell, and it has lots of children, the cleanest that they've ever seen, and it has one young woman -- they can't imagine how she could have had so many children, Birdell Chew writes.

Then when she rings the bell, they all run inside. And they look at each other and say, "What is this?" And one says, "I don't know," and they go back every day and they hide, and they watch with fascination from the bushes, and one day they get discovered and they are terrified, like little frightened animals, and they're pulled into the place, and the lady, it was a nice lady, a pretty lady, asks them if they've ever been in a school before.

And, on the way home that night, they talk about it, and they look into the pool of the swamp and they wash their faces for the first time.

When we read it in the group, almost everybody burst out crying. About twelve people were all weeping. I guess I thought it was about the best description of education, and the lack, the deprivation. It's a lot more than disadvantage, it needs almost a new word to describe what Birdell Chew had described. Everyone was very moved by it, and she is going on now, and we have four chapters of this novel, well, just sort of corrected a little bit, and she's making excellent progress with it.

After a while -- I'll try not to take up too much time -- but after a while we got to be about fourteen or sixteen, and we began to be too large for the coffee house, where many other things were going on, where jazz musicians worked, and everybody was getting in everybody's way, and we asked them to turn down the record-player, or to get away from the piano -- which if you say it to the fellow who was playing that piano, is kind of dangerous.

Meanwhile, other things were happening. It's a section of Los Angeles that I know you've all heard about, and some know it very well. It's a real orphan of the city. The Mayor for years has looked the other way, and there is sort of a running battle -- maybe that runs through our whole society I guess, and is just slightly more emphasized in Watts -- a kind of running battle between the young people and the police.

There are many different theories about this, but they are constantly picked up, including some of our members and some of our poets, partly because they had no place to sleep -- some of them were sleeping in the coffee house, which was sort of against the rules. They actually had no place to sleep, and would be picked up for loitering, for this, for that, on suspicion and I found that I had been very naive to go down there, to start to teach a class that grew, that started to work, and think that I could just go there for two hours, or three hours, and just go home to Beverly Hills, and not get involved in their lives.

Their lives are desperate. When I would drop Leumas or Ernest or other members of the group, when I would drop them from 101st Street -- I'm looking at someone here who also knows the area well, which sort of gives me confidence to go on. From 105th Street, say, over to Central Avenue, I would drop them and each time as I watched them go down the street, I would wonder if I would ever see them again. What's going to happen to them tonight? Will they get busted? Will they get beaten?

As did happen, people really go under, as into a deep sea, they really go under. I one day heard myself in a most unlikely conversation -- one of the many unlikely I've had -- talking to a lieutenant of the 76th Precinct, and I said, "I don't know if you know it or not, but you have one of our best poets in there, and I'd like you to know that I'm very impressed with his work." I'm sure he thought I had had three double martinis or something, and he said, "Well, I'm very impressed with his ability to get arrested," and I said, "Is that his ability, or yours?"

And that was about June, when he was about to come out and receive the first prize in poetry at a ceremony we held at Westminster. In a sense, I guess that dialogue gets to the base of our problem. I saw him as a poet, a promising young man. He saw him as an incipient criminal. That is part of what is happening in Los Angeles, and I guess it's happening all over the country.

At that point, one day Geraldine said to me, "You know, if you keep on spending this much time in Watts, you may possibly have to rent a house there," and I said, "Gerry, as a matter of fact we looked around today, and I think we have found a house." We had plunged into this, I guess, in an absolutely backward way, with no plan, with not really enough money. But we found a house that had been a shambles. There are many that are sort of boarded up, as you know, so many from this revolt, and for $95.00 a month, we could rent it.

I didn't know exactly again how we would do this, but I thought -- and I didn't really have enough time or money -- but I thought that that part of it I could swing myself for a while. I could pay the rent, and figure out some way to open the house. We did get a great deal of encouragement when the TV show called "The Angry Voices of Watts" was shown on the anniversary, August 16th, of those fires of '65. We did get encouragement. Different writers who heard Birdell Chew on the program, and who heard Leumas Sirrah read his works, a few of his works, and who heard James Thomas Jackson read a part of his novel called "Shade of Darkness" phoned in. According to NBC, it received the most calls for any program, and after that the heaviest mail since the Huntley-Brinkley telecast of the Johnson landslide.

I didn't bring with me -- I brought some scrapbooks and things -- but I didn't bring the letters and there were thousands. I got about three hundred personally. About 10 percent were very anti, but about 90 percent kind of amazed. With this encouragement, we decided in a very chancy, primitive way to start what we call "Douglass House." The head of Westminster, Mr. Hardwick, said at first that possibly we should call it, "Schulberg House," but I told him that I had enough troubles. [LAUGHTER] And I told him that there was some feeling for calling it Douglass House, in honor of a man who had taught himself to read in the most ingenious way, in a day when not only were the schools substandard as they are in Watts, but when it was actually a crime to teach a black man to read. Ingeniously, he learned to read, and then to write with enormous power, and so we thought that "Douglass House" was the proper name for the house.

I'm sort of startled to find myself in Douglass House, sort of startled to look around. It's a ten room house. Some of the writers have actually worked on the refurbishing of the house. We got donations, largely of furniture. We paid for some of it. It's now all furnished. It has sleeping accommodations for six to eight, and it was sort of amazing, last week some moved in over the weekend.

We have been holding our classes there for about the last three weeks, and I would say that enthusiasm was running high. I wrote to about a hundred people that I knew. Our idea at first was to finance this by writing to established writers, and asking them to give $25.00 a month, or $300.00 a year, and I thought that possibly if we had enough writers, we could finance it that way. That's the way we've been going, and Steinbeck sent us his check and a very encouraging, warm letter, and said that he was amazed by the work he had heard on the program, and Mr. Baldwin sent a check from Istanbul, James Baldwin whom I've known for a long time, and well, Irving Stone, and Irwin Shaw, and there are many, many other people whom you would know. Anne Petry, Roger Stevens, and Senator Bob Kennedy -- I wrote him that I wasn't writing to him as a senator, but he had written a couple of books, and I thought that he should qualify as a writer. Especially as he had boasted to me that he had written "The Enemy Within" himself, and that it was not as some people might have thought, ghost-written. And he sent me a very warm letter, and a contribution.

We've had a good deal of encouragement. I suppose that we need more. James Thomas Jackson -- I went down one night to pick up some chapters of his book. I don't have to do any of the fixing of the commas, or anything with him. I think he could teach me a little bit, and maybe it sounds sentimental, I don't know, but it's the truth. He sweeps out the Eagle Tavern way down on South Western Avenue at 66th Street, South Western Avenue, not in Watts itself, but there is where he works.

He's just sold a piece to a new magazine called West, the Sunday magazine of The Los Angeles Times, about Douglass House, in which he says -- better than I could have said it, certainly with fewer words -- he wrote: "It took me forty years to find this house." And that's about where we are now.

[APPLAUSE]

Chairman: Thank you very much, Mr. Schulberg. Our next speaker will be someone whom we've been very fortunate to have with us all through the time of this conference, and I'm sure therefore that all of you know her.

I'm sure that many of you, like myself, remember the pleasure she has given us, the joy she has given us, during the days of her professional career, but I think she's given us just as much joy in the things she's had to say here at these meetings -- Miss Dorothy Maynor.

Dorothy Maynor: Thank you, Miss Rose. I hope you will forgive me a little. I was asked to talk about the artist's role in this marvelous idea of using the arts in education. I'd like to divide what I have to say into three parts -- the past, the present, and the future. All of it will perhaps carry with it my firm belief about education. I think, first of all, that education should be really the avenue to happiness. I chose my parents very skillfully. I went, happily, to what was for me the best school in the world, and I had the good fortune of a very deep spiritual upbringing.

I found myself in a little school, and I was quite small, and at an early age I was picked up by a wonderful person in the school system. I was just six years old. There were two very gifted teachers in my grammar school. Their background was unusual; their mother had been a classmate of Booker T. Washington, at Hampton Institute. But the very wonderful thing about these two women was this: they would spot children throughout the school. My brother and I came under their notice. School ended at three o'clock. We ran quickly home and got our dinners, and had to report at the home of these teachers one block down the street, within forty-five minutes, and there we started all over, being then given special coaching.

We went over our lessons, and we were taught a little music. We were taught grammar. We were helped with our arithmetic, and these two women, though they had been in school all day, each would have about twelve children. We met in bedrooms and in the living-room and all over the house. This went on, and through these two women, through that household, passed a procession of young people. Some were preparing for college-entrance examinations.

I was a strange one. I was the smallest, and allowed to come along, but they had discovered in me a weakness, and this is very strange. This was before such great stress was put upon child psychology. But they found that I was a weakling, and they were determined that I would grow up quickly. I had the feeling of being too close to my mother, and they thought that

that was very bad. I had to learn independence, and I had to develop.

Well, the two sisters went to my father, and they said that we're going to have to find a school, and put Dorothy where she can stand on her two feet, and grow. There's nothing wrong with her little mind up there, but it isn't going anywhere. [LAUGHTER]

So I was packed off to school at a very early age. I enjoyed it. I wouldn't have thought so. I think my mother would have been very disappointed, because she thought that perhaps I was happiest with her. I went to Hampton Institute, and there had a transplanted New England upbringing. It was very important to engage in high thinking and plain living.

I was introduced to new and exciting interests. I was surrounded with love and concern. Eventually the weakling from the seaport town of Norfolk, Virginia, became an assistant coach of the dramatic club. We gave Shakespearean and Sophoclean plays. I became a member and also the assistant conductor of the choir, which perhaps is why I ended up in a choir school. Also, I became an intercollegiate tennis player, and traveled on the intercollegiate circuit.

I was - I guess that I was chosen largely because I was little and people would commit fouls in basketball, but I became captain of the basketball team. [LAUGHTER]

I adored hockey, and acquired some skill in this sport. I went to Europe as a member of the Hampton Institute Choir. I say all these things because I have great confidence in the one-to-one contact of a child with someone who will discover him early.

I look back upon these years as a time of sheer delight. I enjoyed everything, and I found myself at the early age of thirteen singing in Carnegie Hall. It was because of Nathaniel Dett. A strange feature of my life has been a succession of patient and perceptive teachers who have "discovered" me. Perhaps you know only of Koussevitzky; there were other people who, along the way, had found a child and reached personally with a hand, and I think the thing that worries me in regard to public schools, though I was discovered there, is that they are so large, that the little ones are so often lost.

So much for the past. Now the present, and how did I get here? After many years, twenty-five on the concert stage, I came home to be with a very wonderful husband, who had become ill. He was the minister of the St. James Presbyterian Church, and one of the first things that he did on arriving in New York to take over this parish was to raise $148, 000. All but $10, 000 of that was raised in the parish, and by the people there, to give the community a recreation center.

There was a small basketball court. There were clubrooms in which the children could meet. After ten years of this type of program, I came home, and one night at dinner he said, "I am very unhappy, because I think we are duplicating what is being done all over our community; we should perhaps move on to something else."

The public schools were open after school hours for recreation. So we were just another recreational center. Well, I was asked to make a study, and for eight months I visited every public school in the area, every office, every supervisor, starting at the very top, in the office of the Board of Education at Livingston Street, and discovered my own community, and came back to the church body, the Session which governs the church, and made recommendations.

To my dismay, I discovered that there was very little in the way of the arts being given to children in my community. There were no places where a child, if he wanted a lesson, say, on the piano or the violin could get superior training. So I recommended to the Session of the Church, that the school be given over to an arts center. It was readily agreed that they would supply the building, the heat, and the light. It was up to me to take it from there. Well, as you know, that's a pretty big order.

I began trying to raise funds. They were not forthcoming because no one was interested in a dream. So it had to become a reality. With twenty children that I picked up in the neighborhood, I started teaching. For a year I was the janitor and the teacher. We had wonderful times, but every time I looked the door was opening, and there were two or three more hungry little eyes, saying, "May we come to school?"

Well, I taught every day from three to six, which was the practice period, and then on Saturday we had our formal classes, but I was alone, and could take care of but the twenty children, so I went back to the Session, and they said that they would underwrite one teacher for me, and my husband said that he would underwrite a part-time teacher, the second teacher.

Those two teachers are still with me, and with the three of us we invited P. S. 123, which was one block away from the center, and therefore a logical place to go. We opened registration at nine o'clock and at quarter of one, we locked the door. We had eighty-five children, and we felt that this was as much as we could do. We had an exciting time. Early I had made up my mind that I would do nothing unless I had the whole family. We encouraged not only one child of a family, but all of them. It was not thought of as a school for only talented children, because I think that children with little talent need as much beauty in their lives as those with talent.

It's also important for a child to grow in the environment in which he lives, and an environment sympathetic to what he's trying to do. Not only that, but I wanted to engage the parents in the same program. Young mothers, and dropouts from school, who had not had the chance their children were now having, decided that they wanted to go to school. So, as a consequence, we have adult classes as well.

My youngest pupil was born three weeks ago. She is enrolled in the school. Her mother started with the viola last summer, and she is our guinea pig No. 1. We are keeping the mother's records, and the mother will continue to learn, hoping that this child will be able to start at a stringed instrument ahead of any of the other children. Our youngest child now studying violin is three years old, and we have twenty-eight children between the ages of three and five. We have about eighty children in strings, about 148 children in the piano, and only 4 percent of those children studying piano have instruments at home.

You see, we have tried to develop this school around the community, taking all of the problems of our community -- what you call "disadvantages." We turn them into advantages.

For example, a child wanting to begin to master an instrument is asked first of all, "Do you have an instrument?"

Say the child wants to take piano lessons, and he says that he doesn't have a piano. As a rule he's told that he can't come, and so, "Goodbye until you have an instrument."

But almost none of my children had instruments, so what do I do? I go out and get instruments. We have now eighteen pianos, all the way from concert grands down to those which are hardly much more than a keyboard. But now, to turn a disadvantage into an advantage, they come to school to practice. We have a practice teacher. So the child who comes to the center is very happy. Everybody else is doing the same thing he is doing. He meets new friends, he is a happy child. He's in a very lovely atmosphere, and I find myself at six o'clock really pushing him out the door.

Of the ten children on the honor roll, not one had instruments of their own. So why should he feel inferior for not having a piano? It's he who plays in the recitals.

Last Christmas to my astonishment there arrived on the platform of our little theatre, wrapped in red ribbon, the most beautiful Steinway piano, the gift of a generous friend of the school.

Now we have classes in strings and ballet, and we are moving into the inclusion of a theatre unit. The child is the center of all of it, and I'm determined that every child has more than enough help with his studies. I have been asked often, and I will be doing it this winter a great deal, to act as a judge for talented people, and it has broken my heart when I have encountered children who have not had a chance earlier, arriving at performing age, with much talent and no preparation, and it's too late, and I made up my mind years ago that if I ever had an opportunity, I would start at the earliest possible age.

Thus, my trying to start teaching violin to one still in a crib. It's lots of fun. You should try it. [LAUGHTER]

Someone asked me why I was in a school. Why not in another place teaching voice? I am often asked to give voice lessons, but my great preoccupation is the child. I honestly believe that if we start soon enough -- even before the school gets them -- we will make musicians for your orchestras, but later may be too late.

Also, as you have already guessed, I am trying personally to pay back a debt. I am the composite of many people. I am an investment. I have no right to enjoy all of the fruits of that investment. I must invest them in other children, and I think the important thing now is that the children be made to feel that they are enough our concern to draw out of us the best we have to give.

As I said, we have a number of boys and girls working with strings. We are in cramped quarters, and if you came to school you would find music coming out of the strangest places. Only last week, my children found and made two more practice rooms -- the foyers of the church proved to be very desirable places in which to practice.

Our children come every day. For fifty cents they get half an hour with the same teacher, Tuesdays through Saturdays. Our ballet children are there every day, because I am not trying to give them a little bit; I am giving them all they can take, and if they faint, I stand them up and give them more. They are really working and they are very serious.

When I asked for violins for the little children, they said, "Mrs. Rooks, you are just out of your mind. They will break those things up in no time." We have had violins over a year, and not even a string has been broken. They are very proud of them. We underestimate children. They are capable of learning at a very early age. They are like sponges. I remember Cassius Noble, he came in the door with three other little children, and I don't know how they got so much dirt on them; it was almost a thing of art, because they couldn't have carried any more dirt. [LAUGHTER]

Sleeves were wet and hanging open. You know what it is to roll up a little sweater sleeve that's full of dirt and full of water; it's really something. But they came in and had a nice time washing up and getting ready, and I wrote a note to their mothers and told them to go home and bring them. Two boys succeeded in getting their mothers to come. . The other didn't. But Cassius Noble, the dirty urchin, now plays exceedingly well, and so do many of our children. We don't have nearly enough space, but I feel sure the future holds good things for that neighborhood because of the school.

It doesn't matter what a boy wants to be. He just has to be a very good person, and an asset to his community, and I think that, when he finds out that he is capable of developing and growing, we will have a new species of citizen in this country, living a new life with beauty around him, and with love around him.

The School of the Arts, as it is now called, is housed in a church building, and it is, as I have said, a community center. We have outgrown it. We have now twenty-seven teachers, and 350 children. My hope is that in the next ten years we will have many more children, and as many teachers as are required to give them the learning that they hunger for.

I have had a most exciting time here. I haven't been able to contribute much, but I have learned an awful lot, and it is very good when one goes back to one's respective spot and works, it's wonderful to know that there are hosts of people traveling the same direction, with the same hopes for all children. We are not just a Negro school. I have children of rabbis there. I have Italian children. We have Puerto Rican children. We have children from Colombia. We have Negroes. On the faculty, we are like the United Nations, and this is the world in which our children are growing up, that they are a part of the whole, and that all of this will be in their own community.

We are often given chances to go down to concert halls, and this is one of the glories of New York City, with its Lincoln Center and Carnegie Hall, and so on. But each of our children needs more than anything else an appreciation of himself and of his own community, discovering that he too has something to contribute to the culture in which he lives, and this being so, that the world will come to him, and that something marvelous is happening in his own community, and he and others are making their contribution to the world, through their community, not feeling insecure because they have to go someplace else to see beauty. You will come to see him, and you will find that he is growing to be a tall oak, and that he too will reflect a better society. Thank you. [APPLAUSE]

Chairman: I think that those of you who are visiting us for the first time know why we feel so fortunate to have Dorothy Maynor with us.

She says she has learned a lot from all of the people here. I think that we have all learned a tremendous amount from her.

Another member of our seminar who has been very quiet through much of it, but who when he had something to say, had something very meaningful to say, is Lloyd New Kiva, and he is the third member of our panel today -- Mr. Kiva.

Lloyd Kiva: I suppose, before accepting an invitation to appear on a panel, one should inquire what one is supposed to say, or talk about. So I shall choose my own subject, and talk very subjectively about an experience that I'm involved in, in Santa Fe, New Mexico, with three hundred young Indian students. I'm the arts director of the school called The Institute of American Indian Arts. We take youngsters from all over the United States, including Eskimos as far north as Nome, Alaska, and Seminoles from Florida.

They come to us between the ages of sixteen and twenty-two, and engage in a regular accredited high-school academic program. We also have a two-year post-high program. Over eighty-five different tribes are represented in the student body -- each of these tribes having an extremely different tradition, and each of the youngsters representing personally a varying relationship to his own tribal tradition. And, so we have a real hodge-podge of student backgrounds to consider.

We teach all the arts, dance, music, drama, sculpture, painting, metals, ceramics, fabrics, weaving, printed textiles, and creative writing. So we cover the field. We have sixteen instructors in the Arts Department, the same number as in the Academic Department.

The student who comes to us, if I could type him, represents one of the small minority groups, there being only some 600,000 American Indians in this country. If things keep going well, there will soon be as many Indians as when Columbus came. They're not the "vanishing American," and in some areas they are increasing very rapidly. Strangely enough, Indian people tend to cling to their traditional ways, living apart from the main stream of America, and in this sense they have chosen to live in a self-imposed ghetto.

They did not come to this country with the idea of joining a melting pot, of putting their shoulder to the wheel to make a country go, as did the immigrants who now dominate the country. People now wonder why they have insisted upon remaining apart all these 400 or so years, and why they do not get going with their share of carrying the load. It has been a history of withdrawal, from the time the white men came to the Eastern shores, and this has, psychologically, continued. It is a prevalent attitude even today.

Some groups have developed a whole way of life centering around the protection of what they believe, fighting off cultural extinction, as the Pueblo people have in New Mexico. They have resisted the early coming of the Spanish, the Westward movement, and more recently the missionaries of Protestant faiths. They have managed to maintain an almost pure form of traditional ways.

This is true mostly of those people who live in the Southwest. In contrast to this kind of cultural purity, we have those Indian groups who were moved West back in the early 1800's and left behind them the cultural patterns which were native to them, having become Christians early in the 1700's. These uprootings resulted in the abandonment of their own ways of dress, their artistic expressions, and tribal social structure. Those who moved to Oklahoma at the suggestion of Andrew Jackson, particularly the "Five Civilized Tribes," took up a new way of life there, and never quite recovered. They were, practically speaking, displaced people from that time on. So, as a result of these traumatic changes, some Indian people have become more or less acculturated, and move easily in modern contemporary life. However, many still remain aloof from it.

Most of the young people who come to the Institute have in common the fact that they come from groups whose income per family -- I'm using statistics of two or three years ago -- was $1,500. People say, "Well, what a shame. The Government which looks after their education certainly hasn't done very well by them." But I personally feel that they are in a way lucky, being essentially a conquered people, to be allowed the privilege of living on only $1,500 a year, if they wish to.

This is not a question, of course, of their choosing. What I mean is that they are lucky to have had the privilege of remaining a minority group rejecting many of the things the Government protectorate might wish they would take to more readily.

The group we work with comes from this kind of background. Some other statistics relating to the overall group picture are:

> The highest average grade level of educational attainment is fifth grade.
>
> Health conditions are comparatively poor, certain diseases run fantastically high among the Indian population.
>
> Infant mortality runs extremely high.

Most of our people come from a very poverty-ridden group, representing a good cross section of all the things you may think of when you say "the disadvantaged" or "the underprivileged."

In spite of these deplorable conditions, Indian life ran along without dramatic change, until just recently with World War II, when young Indian people, awakened to the outside world, suddenly faced the problem of trying to find out how to make a living in terms of today's economics.

For a long time, they were able to exist on the belief that they could maintain a way of life which was really formed during the time of the buffalo, when they had large land areas -- a way in which they could maintain a religious structure which had to do with the simplicities of nature. Suddenly they are now confronted with the fact that they are living in a very fast, modern, technological world. They can no longer live on an island, separate from all of the forces that bear down on everyone. So, if for no other reason, economic stress has forced many of them to give up a traditional attitude about life.

An example of this situation is this: When I went from Oklahoma to Arizona in 1933, the Navajo population was about 44,000 people, living on a very large, arid reservation, which extends from Arizona into New Mexico. Unfortunately, that whole reservation became badly overgrazed as a result of traditional practices. A single Navajo family might run fifty head of horses, for instance, just to show status within the tribe. An Indian person simply can't use fifty head of horses. Or for the same reasons, he may have had more sheep than he really needed. During that period until the 1930's, the reservation was highly overgrazed, and as a result it now takes many, many acres to graze a single sheep.

Even in 1940 Navajos were barely existing on the land resources. Now, in 1966, the Navajo population has increased to over 100, 000 but the land area has not increased, and the depletion of life-giving possibilities continues. Now it is a question of what to do with 60, 000 or so people who have no way of making a living in the traditional ways. Many of these people have been picked up from time to time, and taken to Utah, Arizona, and California in trucks, and set up in summer camps, to do vegetable-farming as transient laborers. At one stage the Government, in desperation, formed what they called the Relocation Program, sent these people all over to large urban centers -- Chicago, Los Angeles, and others -- asking them to try to get jobs to gain a simple living. Many did, but they were displaced people. They worked in the atmosphere of social breakdown that prevails under these conditions, the kind that all of us know.

Inherent in social breakdown is alcoholism, a condition all too common in Indian groups today. This leads to the common epithet that one hears -- the "drunk Indian." Many of our youngsters suffer from home backgrounds where parents drink to excess. If you were to go through the records of our youngsters, you would find that all too many come from broken homes and general social and cultural chaos.

As a natural result of all of these disorders, they come to us with records of low academic achievement. By standard test scores, many run third, fourth, and fifth grade in communication skills -- with exceptions, of course. Some students score very high, but the point that I mean to make is that generally speaking, they are below normal. Many are aimless. Many lack self-respect. They have no way out of a world in which they have not allowed themselves to have wants, so they solve their problems by not wanting anything.

These are the kinds of young people we get. They are very much products of two cultures, a situation which confuses them. They have the traditional ways on one hand, which they may have rejected entirely, having found that they do not serve today's needs, and yet they do not have the knack of functioning in the modern non-Indian culture.

First, before expecting anything productive from them, we have to put them back together psychologically, in processes leading toward the building of self-pride. We offer courses dramatizing the historical accomplishments of Indian people. We expose them to the total history of the Indian, in both North and South America. We dramatize the non-technological aspects of their culture. We tell them that their people have been great sculptors. Thay have been great musicians. They have been great in many fields of human endeavor, especially in the arts. Indians do have an impressive background of accomplishment, and learning about it does affect the students. Psychologically, a lack of knowledge about themselves is probably the cause of individual disorientation, to the extent that they do not know how to exist as Indians in a non-Indian world.

I'm sure that during the Sioux times one could find identity. When the buffalo was prevalent, to prove oneself in the buffalo culture a Sioux simply got on his horse, killed a few buffalo, or distinguished himself in feats of war. There was a way of establishing one's self. Our young people do not have the means of self-discovery in their chaotic lives; so we use art experiences as one of the means of giving them a sense of identification.

We do this after telling them many things about themselves in lecture courses, in which we use audio-visual aids, slides, books, and exhibitions of art works. We have a very fine library, heavily stocked with material on Indian people. We have a gallery on the campus, and we continuously bring in the finest of the old, traditional things for them to see. As a result of this, they begin to become more perceptive and begin to relate to their own particular heritage. Up to this time, they are not very willing to listen to any counsel. After they begin to get a bit of self-pride, their art expressions begin to reflect their identification with themselves as modern Indian people.

We're not here with the idea of preserving old Indian forms. We show them baskets, but we do not necessarily expect them to make baskets. An individual may choose to be a painter, or he might wish to make something in clay. It's out of his total identification with the traditional Indian expression that he finds inspiration for meaningful personal expression. His paintings are not just abstract paintings in the air -- and even though they may be abstract and contemporary, they are personally meaningful. He may paint in an awareness of Pop and Op, and other popular art movements, but if you look closely enough, his paintings have unique qualities about them, which I think stems out of his identification with himself as an Indian person.

We have been absolutely amazed at the quality of painting we get in this respect, but we find that it doesn't make much difference what area it is. There is usually an overriding root quality stemming from cultural difference. We find that we are turning out unusual poets, exciting writers. Youngsters who didn't even know how to use a dictionary when they came suddenly care about learning how to use a dictionary, and begin to write in a very wonderful fashion.

It's not writing with feathers in it, as I say. It's not always about Indian things, but it has a kind of richness that comes out of the Indian philosophy. This philosophy permeates the work of even the young person, reflecting an understanding, a close understanding, of man's relationship with his environment -- earth, clouds, the forces of nature, and the animal life. These things lie just underneath the surface of his being and it's therefore easy for him to write and paint and talk about them.

To make a long story short, we find that by tuning our students to their past, and at the same time tuning them toward the future, they find a point of reference. We say to them, "You are Indian, you have great traditions, and you're a rather important person. You have an important background. You live in a very modern world, and you're going to have to face a lot of problems in it. Look at those, also."

We do not withhold information about other kinds of art, other kinds of histories. They are encouraged to learn about the big world around them. And while we teach the history of Indian art and Indian history in general, we also teach world art, and world history, so that they can see their own arts and themselves in perspective, therefore gaining some appreciation of how they compare -- because they don't automatically know this.

As a result of all this, we find that we have been able to get about 50 percent of them into some form of higher education. We've only been under way about five years, and we've had three graduating groups. One year we got over 50 percent (and one year we ran over 60 percent of all the people who finished up) into some further vocational training center or college. One girl, who was extremely quiet and reticent during the time she was with us, blossomed in our processes. It was wonderful to see her change. She became interested in ceramics, and it was through that medium that she began to gain her own sense of pride: "I can make something beautiful." So she began to dress very attractively. Her voice improved. She became less afraid to talk and finally she could address the whole student body with ease. (This story we can tell over and over and over again -- the youngster who came to us looking at his feet, and went away looking people in the eye.) She went to Alfred University, which as you know is probably the top ceramics school in the country. She wrote back at about the end of the first semester saying to her friend, "I am on the Dean's Honor List," and she said, "The funny thing about that is that I don't even know the dean."
[LAUGHTER]

So, many get scholarships to very fine schools. We must have about twenty or more now, in the area of San Francisco and Oakland. They have gone to the Art Institute in Chicago, the Kansas City Art Institute, and to many state universities. They go away as happy people. They are able to connect with contemporary life. They learn all the dances. They do them at the school, the Watusi, or whatever it is that young people are doing these days. They learn to dress very attractively. They become seriously adept in conventional ways.

We provide as well as we can the finest equipment for them; so that a youngster who may have lived his early life on a sheepskin in a Navajo Hogan or sat in a straight back kitchen chair may now sit on a Dunbar sofa in the girls' dormitory. To get this kind of equipment for our school has been a struggle, because this approach is not generally supported. The idea was that any kind of equipment is good enough for an Indian person. Why does he need a Dunbar sofa?

I remember that we turned in a budget for $11,000 for the equipment for one of the girls' dormitories. It was for a great variety of styles of furnishings, so that girls could simply become familiar with what people do have. Unfortunately, one of the pieces of furniture was described as a love-seat. Well, when this hit the purchasing channels, it slowed us down, because they couldn't understand why we needed to be buying very expensive love-seats for Indian students. [LAUGHTER]

I couldn't agree with Miss Maynor more. The real success of working with these youngsters lies in the quality of the faculty that we have. I think we're very fortunate in the fact that we have been able to choose an excellent faculty. As the person who looks after the in-service-training of our staff, I am not concerned about how teachers handle their various subjects, and each one does it differently. It was assumed at the time they were hired that they knew what they were doing, were qualified instructors in ceramics, music, etc. However, I do spend a lot of time talking to them about the importance of extending themselves toward the person they're working with.

I illustrate this by the point that when I first meet a classroom of twenty youngsters, I find that three or four of them are on my wave length the minute I walk into the room. We talk, I like them, they like me. Then there are those in the middle group who are indifferent, who do not care if I am in the room or not, or who probably prefer that I were not, but their reactions are passive. Then there's a group, on the other hand, who are outright opposed. Everything that I say probably annoys them, and bores them, and if they could have their way, they would ask me to leave. Or they would like to leave. This is the make-up of a typical class.

How I conduct myself as an instructor, how I extend (if you'll excuse the expression) love to each student will make all of the difference in the world. At the end of the first class session, I can, by my own rude action, have twenty of them, all twenty of them, going away and leaving me alone. Or, if I conduct myself very skillfully as a good teacher, I may be able to add another to those three who liked me the first day, and if I'm very skillful, by the end of the first year I may have all of them in a position where we can at least talk together.

I think this is the most important quality we look for in our instructors. We've been able to get a staff together which has it. The real teaching is often not done in the classroom. The great instructor is the one who establishes rapprochement with the students; and this may prove difficult, and it may take a long time. Sometimes it takes up to four or five years before a student will come around.

Some youngsters are extremely suspicious of the love which you extend to them. They have never had love and they don't want it. They've learned how to live without it. They wonder what it is that you want in exchange, and they're not about ready to make an exchange with you. We find that we have people who do not commit themselves in any way to our program for months on end. They do not study very hard. They keep on with their drinking, or other anti-social habits. They are a pain in the neck, and everybody really wants to shoot them, if we were really to be honest about it, because they seem intent on not tracking with us. But we do not try to rush them.

We do not go about the teaching of art in a very scientific manner in our school. This may conflict with some of your opinions about how to teach art, but our method is simply to keep dunking them into the aura of creativity which pervades the school, until they find their own sense of perceptivity. We are not a how-to-do-it school. We don't tell them how to look at the world or how to draw. Sooner or later they find their own versions of how they want to express themselves. We would think it a very bad system, except that it seems to be working in rather large measure.

So, I guess that is the story. We think we have an effective way of working with culturally different people -- we never say "culturally disadvantaged." That goes opposite to what we keep telling them. We tell them that they're not culturally disadvantaged. In fact, we tell them they have a great culture. We do know that they are poor and that there are many things they have not had an opportunity to do, if that is what we mean by "the disadvantaged." We find that our system is working -- we think, very well -- as far as it goes. Naturally it has many flaws and I can sit here and tell you an equally long story about what we're not doing and about many of our failures. One fact, for which I am sorry, is that we haven't done much documentation of our methods and results in order to be of assistance to others, but we do know for sure there are an awful lot of students who go away from this school so happy that when Christmas vacation comes the following year, the Institute is the home to which they return. They don't go to their real homes, because, I suppose, this is the place where they found a way to face life.

* * *

Chairman: I think this afternoon we've heard three very exciting and different ways in which the artist can work in these areas. Now, suppose we take just a few minutes and let our three panelists talk to each other, and we can listen in.

Mr. Kiva: I was saying to Dorothy the other day, and wondering with her, if the idea of appealing to cultural difference isn't something that we, for some reason or other, shy away from in this country. We seem to have a feeling that there is a standard American way of life for all. If you're really different, the best thing to do is to wipe you out, and make you like everyone else. I don't know how the Federal Government, which pays our bills, justifies the nature of the school we run, which is for sure a 100 percent segregated school. If you're not at least one-fourth Indian, you can't get in. We have many people who come to the school, who are excited about the processes, and the results they see going on, and they say, "How can I get my child in here?" And we say, "You can't, we're segregated." [LAUGHTER] And really, this upsets them tremendously, but from another point of view. It's because we have something going on that they're envious of, and I was just wondering if it would be possible to use this technique of building pride with other groups whose basic problem, I think, is loss of self. They don't know who they are. They do not know how to honor themselves for what they are. I wonder if you couldn't do this with the Jewish person (or maybe the Jewish people do, I don't know). Or with the Negro people. If these techniques could be significantly used with other groups in a similar fashion, wouldn't it be a means of helping them to reconstruction?

Miss Maynor: Segregation is a very bad word in this era, but it certainly has one advantage. You have a situation in which you can control the child and direct his learning -- let's say in the case of a Negro child's attitude towards the Negro arts.

But I do think it is important, and I do think that while your school has been very successful, it's the fact that you have had time to instill in your children this very important thing that, as I tell my children: "You are the only you, there never was a you before you, and there will never be a you after you. You are the only you, and it's up to you, what you will be." I think that with a Negro child, he must be taught his heritage, and he must learn to create from that background, as your children are doing. Other children do the same thing. Of course we are in a country that is made up of many cultures and that is its great strength. But we must build in the child respect for himself and respect for the various cultures around him.

Mr. Schulberg: I found both of your talks enormously interesting and stimulating. I was very interested in what Mr. Kiva said about his school, because I find something very similar in Watts. I find that in talking to my white friends -- and some of my best friends are white [LAUGHTER] -- that they don't quite understand what is happening, and possibly because of that have a certain fear of it. Much as you speak about your people and their pride in their background, the traditions, and their desire to hold onto a culture which is theirs, and which possibly they even feel is superior to what the white man has thought of, I find something quite similar happening, a growth of pride, interest in African culture, African roots. It takes many different forms. Alvin Saxon just wrote a poem called "Black Power" and it expressed his feeling of what that term means. It was an interesting poem. It's a term that shakes some people, and not others, but I was interested because I thought that when I tell them about the Indian school, your school, and the art which is both their own art and yet is drawn from the outside as well, I think that will both stimulate them, and possibly reinforce some feeling of pride in self, which is growing. Surely educational systems have failed in Watts, where only 10 or 12 percent who get out of the junior high school get their high school diplomas. And as Johnie Scott, a member of our group, explained -- he recently wrote a piece for Harper's called "My Home Is Watts" and he is now up at Stanford -- he explained that of that 12 percent who get to high school, their averages are those of about the sixth or seventh grade. And many of those whom I talk to in our writing workshop, who dropped out of school, and who didn't make it as well as Johnie Scott did, felt that there was not enough emphasis on their own history, on Negro history, that there was no interest in them as people. I asked a good number who showed real talent, if somebody didn't know that they were poets. Nobody ever asked them. I think that part of their dropping out -- part of it, because there are many other reasons, economic reasons, and the pressures of the ghetto life -- but part of it might lie in a re-examination possibly of the school curriculum, and an honest admittance that "Yes, we are segregated, we live in Watts, we have a rather different culture, just as you say." Let's not fool ourselves that we have a melting pot. It hasn't melted all that much, and out of that comes something healthier or more honest.

Miss Maynor: I think so, but just as it is being done for the American Indian, the Chinese community did it for themselves, and I think it's up to us also to do this. If you came to school, to our school, you would see them learning the beautiful Watusi dances and other dances of Africa -- the mothers and all -- and it's really something to try to study the Brahms Requiem for the church, and hear the drums for the Watusi downstairs, but it all goes along, and also from there, a child moves from his own into what is yours, and he doesn't take all of yours. He takes what he likes, but this is so. In the Chinese community -- I think in Chinatown in New York -- the Chinese community rented the school facilities and after school their children went back, and this is where I went as a little girl. I went back to another -- to my same teacher, but it was a fine, and very different kind of experience. And this is what we need, and this is what our art centers can do. They can give our children this security of knowing a wonderful past, and then they can build on it. Knowing one's roots, that's so very important, and I hope that all over America, whatever the child's roots are, that we can push them deep into the soil, because only then can the great oaks grow.

Chairman: Do we have any questions or comments from people who are here?

Audience: Recalling a conversation I had with Noah, when I was formulating my proposal, I was telling him that my idea was to get a curriculum going in the schools in Watts, which would get into the eye of the Negro kids the magnificent forms of art which were produced in Africa, and get into the eye of the Negro kid the fact that there are Negro artists producing art. He said, "Wait a minute, Ron. Wait a minute. I don't want these kids to get the idea that only Negroes produce art," and his idea of course, was that Negroes are as good as anyone else, but they're no better than anyone else. I think that it also needs to be said that the advantaged have got to see Indian art and Negro art and Mexican-American art and realize that people with these heritages have made tremendous contributions.

Miss Maynor: Yes, I was thinking of Picasso, whom I remember seeing first in Paris and Rome, and then seeing an exhibition of Sardinian bronzes, and the first thing that came to my mind was, "My goodness, I bet that Picasso has lived with these things," and, sure enough, he had stayed in Sardinia for ten years, and he was steeped in it. I didn't mean to say that people should only know their own art. The thing is first that you have to know yourself, and appreciate yourself, before you can really venture out and enjoy others, but I think it's very good to identify yourself. One has to.

Audience: Could I ask Mr. Schulberg a very pragmatic question? Just about how this thing got started. There were those months where nobody showed up, and then somebody did show up. Did you read to them first, and if so, tell me what. Did they start by bringing a piece of work, something that you could work out loud with.

Mr. Schulberg: First, when a few did show up, we just talked. The first few times that people did show up, no work was brought in. We just talked. I asked them how it was during this trouble, and they showed me some of the ruins and things like that, and told me some stories, and I said why don't you just write that. I suggested to one young man that he should put down everything he remembered about those six days, and he asked if that would be a story, and I said that maybe it would be. We sort of talked first.

Audience: Did you bring in other materials, possibly of your own, or other writings? Poems by other writers, by William Carlos Williams, or Gwendolyn Brooks, or anybody?

Mr. Schulberg: I brought in some work of Negro writers. I tended frankly to leave out the work of the white writers. I guess that I sort of felt instinctively -- felt my way into it, just as Mr. Kiva has lived his way through his experience, that the encouragement and what is now called motivation, would be better if it came from people like Ralph Ellison or Baldwin or Brooks, at first. And also to talk about the work of Malcolm X and so forth. Later on, when I felt more secure, I used some of my own things. If a story problem came up that I had once tackled, I brought that out. Actually, this is a workshop where they read their works aloud and I sort of guide the criticism. Sometimes I just lay back, and they go at it quite hard. They do the talking and I sort of help a little bit here and there.

Audience: It's all verbal. I mean you never provide, say, copies of a poem for everybody to look at, or a story?

Mr. Schulberg: Sometimes we pass it around the room. We do that, and it's sort of grown. Since the house was named for Douglass, and since it was amazing finding that maybe two-thirds had never heard of Douglass, which again shows how possibly a culture has been somewhat crushed, or just forgotten, or overlooked. I then brought in some of the work of Douglass, and we read some last week, some of his own works. So much of it sounds as if it was written last night, protesting to a union because his son was a very good printer, and worked on his own newspaper, because he wasn't allowed in the printers' union, and things like that. We are starting to use more materials I would say now.

Audience: Mr. Schulberg, during the conference there has been talk of using the professional artist within the school system in an informal way for an arts program, and in at least one subgroup that I was in, the question came up of the availability of those resources, how many professional artists would be interested in giving time, or participating, if it was made possible for them to do so. I wondered, first, whether in view of some of the recent publicity that your activity has received, there has been interest in the part of professional writers in participating, not only in your program, but in similar types of things? And, one other question, and that is: To what extent do you think the experience has affected your work?

Mr. Schulberg: Well, yes, quite a few writers did respond after an appeal was made. The Screen Writers' Guild has a newsletter, and I wrote an appeal, more for things like typewriters, and paper, and just actual writing materials. But out of that, five or six people did call in and asked if they could help to teach. I have a list of about a dozen people -- some of them painters, some of them writers, some of them musicians -- who would like to come and help teach. We do have a problem quite frankly -- I don't know, it might be indelicate, but there is a very strong community feeling in Watts. These people might be very talented, and yet not quite as well received. We tend to some extent to have that problem, although at this time someone from the Guild is at our class. It's not impossible, but it's somewhat difficult. But I don't think that the problem is finding the artist who wants to teach, as it is to find a new kind of school, that is, some new kind of school which we may have stumbled onto, and wish to represent, which somehow is outside the regular, conventional school system. Because, obviously something has failed when a young man can't get through school, or has dropped out of school, and yet will attend a class on the dot, you know, every week, on time, and is still not really literate. He can't spell and so forth. There's something wrong. He's obviously interested in education. He's interested in self-improvement. He's interested in making something, in creating something, and somewhere that school has failed him. When that very young man has dropped out in the eighth, ninth, or tenth grade, something is wrong. I think these hopes and dreams of Miss Maynor's -- I think the only difference between us may be because I have dealt with a tougher situation, and I hope in the same way you have, but I don't have a sense of sureness that we will achieve it. I often drive away from Douglass House, proud of what we've done, and with an enthusiasm there that wasn't there before, and I've observed it, with people feeling that they can hold themselves together now in a way that they couldn't before, and yet wondering if we really are making it, you know as a society. I'm just not as confident, I guess.

Miss Maynor: I'm sure you will make it.

Mr. Schulberg: I hope so.

Miss Maynor: I'm sure you will. I think you've started right, with honesty, but we must always keep hope, and it will come. Please, do think always positive.

Mr. Schulberg: I'll try. [LAUGHTER]

Miss Maynor: Our school is exciting because we are not held down by anything that has been set up. The poor public school is in trouble because it has to follow certain things, but how privileged we are. We embark on a new journey, and in this new journey we can find new ways, and new helps, and one thing that I have found -- and you too, I'm sure -- is the good will of so many, and I think we have one of the most exciting experiences ahead of us, and this I believe because I believe in mankind, that we are pushing toward something, and I can't look on Watts as a tragedy. I look at it as an opportunity, and whatever comes to us, I'm sure as we are sitting here today that America will fulfill itself, that we will be led out of this maze, and we will finally arrive at an America of which we can be very proud, and a society in which everyone can make his contribution. I go back to my own roots. I'm always tired. I think there is a better day a'coming, and if you don't think it, I know it. [LAUGHTER]

[APPLAUSE FOR MISS MAYNOR]

Audience: Bravo!

Mr. Schulberg: As an anticlimactic statement, I would like to recommend to Miss Maynor and to others that you read Dostoevski's "A Heavenly Christmas Tree," which I read with the students recently, and in this Dostoevski tries to give a very interesting point of view. The child lives in poverty and his mother dies in a basement, and he knows she's dead because she's cold, and he goes out into the street, and he sees a

Christmas tree, and there's a family -- and in it there's great wealth, and this is Dostoevski's attack on the state. It's pretty old-fashioned, but the point is that he was making a point. The woman opens the door and sees this child, and Dostoevski in his great symbolism -- she wants to get rid of him because he's dirty, etc., so she offers him a kopeck, she gives him money to get rid of him, but his hands are so cold, and it's too late -- society is just too late -- and it drops down. He can't hold his money. He runs and he freezes to death and on a woodpile, in the beautiful symbolism of Dostoevski, which is the source of energy for warmth, and as he dies, however, he goes up to the heavenly Christmas tree. Dostoevski questions whether or not God will give him this gift, and points out that perhaps there may be the other alternative, that the spirit is important, but there is the reality of the woodpile which sits and is not ignited, and I offer that as part of a symbolism --

Miss Maynor: You ignited it this morning.

Mr. Schulberg: Hopefully.

Miss Maynor: You have the matches, let's get burned!

[LAUGHTER AND APPLAUSE]

PANEL ON FEDERAL RESOURCES

On the last morning of the conference, Kathryn Bloom chaired a panel on Federal resources, followed by a discussion period. The panel members were: U. S. Commissioner of Education Harold Howe II; Roger Stevens, chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts; Barnaby C. Keeney, chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities; and Phillip E. Schrager representing the Office of Economic Opportunity. The informal talks of the four panelists and excerpts from the discussion follow.

Chairman Kathryn Bloom: We are fortunate to have with us this morning four gentlemen who represent the major sources of Federal government funds for programs in the arts and for programs planned to assist the disadvantaged. Since I promised that he could leave early for an important conference, I will ask Mr. Howe to open the discussion. It is my great pleasure to present to you Mr. Harold Howe, U. S. Commissioner for Education.

Mr. Howe: Though I really know nothing about the arts in any expert sense, I am convinced of their importance in the education of disadvantaged youngsters, and I'm entirely enthuasiastic about this conference. I hope that it will lead to all sorts of possibilities for the schools of the United States, as its proceedings are publicized and put to work. You people can act as catalysts in this process.

I'm afraid we have to admit that schools are organized to defeat the enterprise we're interested in here -- especially as youngsters progress through the grades. Art is fine for Head Start programs or kindergarten, but the discipline of time and activities in the average school makes it likely that art will be minimized.

So, it seems to me, we've got a long, long road to tread, to sensitize the schools to the things that are concerning you here. But I think we'd better get about it. Some adventurous people have already begun, in different places around the country. Some of them are here and I'm aware of some of the things that they have done.

We in the Office of Education are trying to have an influence on getting about this business, frankly, by trying to bend the programs which we administer as much as we can in the direction which concerns you. And our agent in this bending is a very effective one. She's seated on my left. Kathy Bloom holds an unusual kind of position in the Office of Education in the sense that she has a direct administrative responsibility for a small program. But much more important than the number of dollars she manages is the fact that her appointment as a specialist in the arts reaches into all the programs that we have and reaches into our contacts with other organizations in Washington and elsewhere that are interested in advancing the arts in education.

So that, in holding this discussion with her, you were talking to the right person in the Office of Education. I think she can be very effective in advancing your purposes.

Secondly, I want to say that insofar as the schools are moving into the realm of the arts at all I think in general that they're doing better by the more fortunate kids.

I don't know whether it's true that youngsters who come from less fortunate families are more handicapped in their opportunities for the arts than they are in other realms of learning -- reading, writing and arithmetic. But they certainly are handicapped, and I suspect that this group of youngsters about whom Federal policy has developed rather dramatically in the last few years -- both within the Office of Education and within the Office of Economic Opportunity -- needs very special help and treatment in the arts, just as they need it in other areas of the curriculum.

I don't pretend to know how to go about this. This is what you're here to help us find out.

Without having studied the matter, I believe that the arts may be for this group of youngsters a kind of awakening device, which can stimulate them to succeed in other learning enterprises. We ought to mount demonstrations and experiments to help us evaluate that proposition. If it is true, if young people who come to school, handicapped by their family or social background, by the prejudices which have been directed against them, can achieve some self-realization, some feeling of importance and of success through the arts we certainly ought to use this proposition for all it's worth.

Perhaps you're aware of the various programs that we have. I would like to review one or two that seem to me particularly valuable as levers to accomplish some of the things you are interested in. By far the largest is Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. This program brings over a billion dollars a year into the public schools of the United States. If we're going to use this Title effectively for the arts, we've got to find a way to reach the grass roots level with the kind of conversation you're having at this meeting -- because decisions on that Title are made locally.

Local school systems and local school superintendents design the proposals that are supported under Title I. Approval of those projects is not made in Washington, but in the several states, by the state superintendents of public instruction. So there's a real problem of persuasion, communication, propagandizing or whatever you want to call it, to get your message to local school superintendents. These are the fellows who put down on paper the little projects that ultimately get approved at the state level and when they are all added up result in this very large expenditure throughout the schools of the country.

From the standpoint of this particular conference, that billion dollars in Title I is the most significant piece of money there is because, as you know, this Act focuses on disadvantaged children. So it bores right in on the kids you're concerned about in these discussions. I hope that this series of discussions and the follow-up on them will produce some model Title I programs.

The advantage of having such models is almost obvious. A school superintendent in a rural community in the South, for example, instead of receiving a packet of generalizations and highfalutin talk about the benefits of the arts will instead receive hard, detailed, exemplary proposals that say to him -- "This is what a good project in this realm looks like and these are the kinds of resources that are needed, and you'd better not try a project in the arts unless you've got them."

I don't believe you're going to get too many good proposals from people who are a long way removed from the philosophical discussion and the theoretical side of the proposition. Thus it's important to us as well as to you that, based on what's said here, ultimately our staff and other advisers pull together some such models that can be applied in various school situations.

The Office of Education also administers Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. This is a really freewheeling enterprise. In fiscal '66, it amounted to 70 million dollars; the Congress has appropriated 135 million for it in the current year, just about doubling it. Actually there's some carry-over in this year's Title III funds from '66, so the amount available in the current year is considerable.

In respect to Title III, the Office of Education really operates like a foundation. Proposals come directly to us rather than through the State Departments of Education and we approve them right here in Washington. The law says the Commissioner does the approving. Actually, of course, we don't rely on our own superior wisdom alone; we go through a whole variety of consulting processes with advisory panelists and review committees.

But still our shop has more control over the approval of Title III projects than we do over those under Title I. And Title III has fewer restrictions. It doesn't necessarily have to focus on disadvantaged children, although it perfectly well can.

There are two broad requirements for proposals under Title III. One is that they be over and above what the schools are already doing. We can't pick up the costs of their present enterprises. There has to be something new, something additional, something supplementary. And secondly, a proposal has to be built around a bright idea. The word that we toss around all the time is "innovative." I try to avoid it, but that's the word we use to describe the nature of a good Title III project.

It seems to me that that particular piece of legislation is just built for lively proposals of the kind that would draw on the results of this session here. The legislation encourages school districts which make such proposals to pull into them all other community agencies, public or private. Therefore, right in the Congressional intent, you have a notion of bringing into the schools the concerns of museums, of musical organizations, of libraries, and of other agencies not controlled by the schools but directly concerned with the kinds of things you're considering at this meeting.

I could review with you a number of other sources of Office of Education support for activities which might result from this meeting but the two I've mentioned are the major ones. We do have a variety of teacher-training enterprises, institutes, and that kind of thing. I haven't really explored the extent to which other large funds we have -- under the Vocational Education

Act, for example -- could be used in the realm you're considering, but I suspect there are some possibilities there.

Generally I would say that there are better possibilities for the support of art-related activities in our various elementary-secondary programs than there are in our programs for higher education. The funds that the Office of Education has for higher education tend to be more bread-and-butter money -- to build buildings and do that sort of thing.

I hope these remarks will give you a little insight into some of the possibilities we see, some of our prejudices, and some of our hopes for the utilization of art in the education of the disadvantaged.

Thank you very much.

[APPLAUSE]

Chairman Kathryn Bloom: I wonder if we have questions we'd like to address to Mr. Howe.

Audience: You say that you don't know anything about the arts. You, in the highest administrative level in the country, don't know anything about the arts. Do you have any clues, cues that we might use in dealing with administrators at other levels who also don't know anything about the arts? [LAUGHTER]

Chairman: You heard from Congressman Moorhead the other night who mentioned the report of the National Commission on the Humanities, and that this was the single largest moving force in passing legislation to support the arts and humanities and that the report of that commission was chaired by Dr. Keeney. Mr. Howe was a member of it, however, and was the chairman of the committee that wrote the part of the report that deals with the humanities, in the very broad sense -- humanities right straight across the board into the arts. And if you haven't read that, I would recommend them to you as extraordinarily sensible and valuable reading and recommendations. So Mr. Howe is being overly modest when he says that he knows nothing about the arts. [LAUGHTER]

Mr. Howe: Well I am certainly a non-specialist, you know. I have a sort of feeling for good things. But I do think (leaving myself out of it, so we won't argue about that) that dealing with this difficult school superintendent presents a very real problem for art educators. This is why I address myself to the business of models. I think you almost have to give him a package that's got sure-fire success built into it, let him see the success, and then encourage him to convert it to his own uses. I don't think you can lecture him about it. I don't think it's going to take unless you can offer him some very practical, down-to-earth stuff. Moreover, you ought to consider what can be done in institute programs, workshops and so forth, of a university or local-school-sponsored nature that will help the public school teacher. Money invested in such training projects for teachers may have more pay-off in the long haul than money invested in a project directly involving children. These are general suggestions. I cannot by myself create model projects but I hope that you will help us. I think that in creating such models we need to involve some sympathetic school people who are familiar with the problems of the schools and who want to explore the uses of the arts in solving them.

Audience: Do you find any change in this attitude -- at least in big city school systems?

Mr. Howe: I really think Kathy would have a better answer to this than I have. Here and there I see interest in the arts popping up in the schools and it seems to me that there is more excitement today than there was a few years ago. But I have no real basis for comparison to enable me to give you a sound opinion.

Chairman: I think that this source of funding for innovative projects has given us some insight because there has been this myth abroad that administrators were not at all interested in the arts. We don't have a hard analysis of all Title III projects in the arts, but we do know from the kind of information that filters in to us and the kind of remarks that we hear and from many discussions that many Title III projects happen not because of the people who are concerned directly with the arts but because of administrative interest. In one of the major school systems of the United States, there's a very strong drive to make the arts and humanities central to the curriculum. That is not coming from any of the people in the arts. It's coming from the people responsible for over-all curriculum development.

Audience: For instance, in Philadelphia, I have been there a lot of years and it was only a year ago that the director of the Franklin Institute and the education director of the museum and I were asked to join the planning board where new programs are being discussed -- so that there is a real movement there. I wonder if other cities are moving in that direction.

Mr. Howe: We ought to find out. I actually don't know the answer. Let me say, Kathy, that I do have to go. But I want to thank you very much for this chance to be here very briefly and I apologize to all of you. I've become entangled with the Bureau of the Budget and there's nothing I can do about it. [LAUGHTER - APPLAUSE]

Chairman: May I call on you, Dr. Keeney, as Chairman of the Humanities Endowment?

Mr. Keeney: Let me start out by taking the fifth just as Doc Howe did. I don't know anything either. But I'll go a good deal further than Doc did to say that I don't know anything about anything. And this is characteristic of executives -- or what some people prefer to call administrators. I prefer to call myself an executive because it makes me feel better.

The higher you get in executive activities the less frequently you know what you're doing. And I would say that the president of a university, for example, makes 90 percent of his decisions without any substantive knowledge of the subject in which he's making the decisions. And if he kids himself into thinking that he is making them on the basis of his own substantive knowledge, he is likely to make very bad decisions and he is likely to make his worst decisions in the areas he knows best.

I made more mistakes in selecting people for the departments where I'm competent to judge the quality of people than in any other group of departments. The further a man goes as an executive, the less likely he is to know what he's doing, in terms of the substance of the decisions. What makes a good executive is not his substantive knowledge at all but his ability to select able people and to select those people whose judgments he'll follow.

Now it's quite fashionable to say you don't know anything about science or you don't know anything about art. It may be more or less true, but it's irrelevant in the context of executive decision-making. What is important is the capacity to recognize competent people who have substantive knowledge, to find which of their ideas are worth backing, and to find the means to back them.

The Humanities Endowment has a mandate in the field of art that has to do with art in the context of education. That is, teaching in art and scholarship in art. We don't have any mandate for art in the area of creation. That belongs to the Arts Endowment. We work quite closely with the Arts Endowment and we work also with Kathryn Bloom and her staff.

Art in the context of education does not restrict us to the schools. Education, hopefully, should extend far beyond the school, and we feel that we're quite entitled to take part in adult education, post-school education, general public information, and pre-school education as well as school and college and university education.

We have a problem of funds, of course. We are called an endowment because we don't have any. And we have very restricted funds and a very wide area to spend them in. So what we try to do is to select a few things that may have an effect disproportionate to the amount of money that's involved.

We have an even more serious problem and that's the supply of ideas. For them, we quite frankly depend upon the people who ask us for support. We can generate a few ideas ourselves. But most of them will have to come from you and other people like you.

Now, I will proceed to state some of my views in the area of education in art for the disadvantaged, not only for the disadvantaged but for people in general. My purpose in doing this is not to instruct you, which I don't feel is necessary, but to inform you of where I, at least, sit on this question.

One of our major social problems, I think, is that the measures of intelligence that we use are based primarily upon verbal evidence. And even though a good deal of work has been done in measuring nonverbal intelligence, verbal is still the measurement that's used in education, and it probably is quite natural and even necessary that it should be, because our educational system is basically a verbal educational system. In our society, even more fundamentally, the instruments of success are mostly verbal, whether the words are used to reason or to express oneself or to control other people.

Now, there are other ways of thinking than verbally, and there are other ways of acting than verbally. Anyone who has these other habits of thought and action is handicapped in our educational system.

I remember very well an incident that occurred when I was a private in the Army. I was in with a draft of recruits who were not highly educated. I was the only one out of about 250 men who'd gone past the baccalaureate and I carefully concealed the fact that I had a doctorate. When that became known, I had to fight my way through the whole battery. There was one other man who had had two years of college. And there were several who had completed high school. And that was it.

I was sitting in the barracks one evening -- these were reasonably intelligent people, by the way -- listening to a conversation. One of the men said to another, "How do you think? Do you think in words or in pictures?" And the other one cogitated for a while and he said, "I think in words." And the first one said, "Well, I think in pictures." And a third man, who was very large and subsequently a very successful man -- he's a high-placed executive in a utility company -- he said, "I think in pictures with words coming out of their mouths. Balloons." And these men weren't kidding. They were trying to think about how they thought.

Well, the fellow who thought in pictures didn't have much chance in school. The fellow who thought in pictures "with words coming out of their mouths" had a better chance. But the best endowed of all for success in our system was the fellow who thought in words.

Now, I have a suspicion that the Darwinian principles operate in such a way that a high percentage of the people who don't think verbally end up in the disadvantaged groups and as parents of disadvantaged children. And I suspect, therefore, that one of the best approaches to the education of people who are disadvantaged is through nonverbal means. Through activity. Through art. Through music. And eventually building upon these to more verbal expression.

I have observed at the college level that those students who are admitted to college who really should not be, but are admitted because they can run swiftly to the left or jump high or throw a ball fast or are the sons of alumni, particularly wealthy alumni -- that those of them who achieve outstanding success in one activity, whether it be academic or nonacademic, usually the latter, are most likely to survive as students, and that if you can build on one success, you can move far more rapidly with what is generally politely described as an underachiever, but who usually is an overachiever, than you can by directing your efforts at his whole performance.

Now, I think probably that one of the best opportunities to get children, and older people too, who don't have a great deal of verbal talent moving and confident and ready to learn instead of rejecting learning is through instruction in art and opportunity to develop themselves in art.

And I rather suspect that the nonrepresentational art of this century is a better medium for this than the representational art of previous periods simply because it is less formal and less intellectualized.

I feel obliged to make some observations on instruction in the schools. I have observed that most schools are capable of knocking out the creative enterprise of most children by the sixth grade. Good schools can do it by the fourth grade. In my case, they had succeeded with me by the third time I was in the third grade. And I think that some of the new processes of teaching, the programed learning processes, which have many possibilities, are going to make it possible for a reasonably well-operated school to get this over with by the end of the first grade.

And I think that we have to be very careful that that doesn't happen. I think we need to pay really great attention to the identification of various kinds of creativity and to study these more systematically than we have thus far.

I would very much like to have ideas from you. And I hope that some will appear in the remainder of this period.

Audience: I was very interested in what you said about failing students. I've been for some time in a sub-ghetto -- sort of a ghetto within the ghetto within a ghetto -- where I had about twenty-seven kids. Most of them failed in English and I think that maybe the teachers are thinking too much of grammar and not keeping the large potential in mind. I found 17 or 18 year-old young men with only a year or two of high school and they had flunked English and yet some of their poetry has been published. This month's Scholastic Magazine has a poem called "One, Two, Three" by someone who had been considered in high school unable to write English. I feel the total failures, dropouts, flunk-outs have not only true talent but actually intellectual curiosity. I feel that school is failing them. Could little creative committees in the schools be set up who would try and find some of this talent -- to find some way to move them, to go back to them and help reassess them?

Mr. Keeney: I set up a program in Providence about ten years ago. I'll tell you at the beginning that the program was a failure. It was intended to identify in the schools kids who had a real talent and who were going to flunk out of school and to try to work with those kids in a variety of ways, one of which was the very simple device of giving them some attention and taking some interest in them. I got all the colleges in Rhode Island to guarantee to solve the kids' financial problem if they could conceivably be admitted to college. I observed the first group that came through Brown: there wasn't a single Negro in the group. And I knew that there ought to be. This was ten years ago, mind you, and I was told that there weren't any Negroes that qualified. Well, the very fact that in the past ten years we've come to the point where a very high degree of attention is directed at talented but non-academic Negroes is a considerable sign of progress. We started too soon, I guess. I suppose, too, that one of the real problems in dealing with the children in the Negro ghettos is their language, which seem to me very expressive. I can't help but believe, Mr. Schulberg, that this problem can be solved and that it can be solved better by what would now be regarded as unconventional means than in an academic context. I don't think you can show the people that we're talking about, that it is useful for them to learn geometry and grammar. I think you've got to show that it's useful for them to learn something that they can identify with, and then when they reach the point where they can't go further without some formal education, lead them into formal education.

Audience: I was wondering what you see in programed instruction that would lead you to make that sharp remark that you made.

Mr. Keeney: Well, I think I've struck blood. I think that the very systematic nature of programed instruction is going to produce a great deal of systematic thinking, which is useful and highly desirable. I just wonder if it is going to discourage the random sort of thinking that is often very creative. Just as education does.

Audience: Well, for example, learning to speak is based upon the general principle of learning step by step. The child doesn't come out and recite, "Good morning, Mother." But he learns through a series of steps, just as in any action -- speech, painting, or anything. What programed instruction does is create success. It doesn't upset creativity at all. It triggers it off.

Audience: Dr. Keeney, I'd like to ask about a statement that was once attributed to you by a normally unreliable national magazine. [LAUGHTER] You were quoted roughly as saying that your present endowment is now $4 million and if you were to increase at the rate that the National Science Foundation is increasing by some specified year you would be in the neighborhood of $8 billion and God forbid. Were you being a wise guy or something?

Mr. Keeney: No, I meant it.

Audience: We don't know how to spend the money, is that what you're saying?

Mr. Keeney: I mean that -- 15 years from now was the interval -- we won't know enough in the Humanities Endowment to spend $8 billion, and the humanists in the country wouldn't come up with enough good ideas to spend $8 billion on. And the result will be that at that point and in the build-up period we'll be dumping money all over the place for people to keep on doing what they're doing now. Oh, I guess I was being a wise guy, yeah, but I can't help that. But I really mean it. I hope also that we won't stay at $4-1/2 million. [LAUGHTER]

Audience: I was going to ask you to expand on what you meant by "stifling" creativity in the schools but now I'd like to ask you whether you really mean that creative thinking is random thinking and non-creative thinking is systematic thinking.

Mr. Keeney: Yes. You see I don't know much about the thinking process, but I do observe my own. And those few creative thoughts that I have come at random. I then think about them systematically and examine them and try to put them into effect. By the way, I don't think I said "stifled." What happens is that people are rewarded for systematic activity, for verbal activity, for logical activity. And aren't rewarded for other forms of activity. So that they naturally tend, if they're capable, to move into the systematic activity, and if they're not capable of it, they just withdraw.

Audience: You talk about the fact that creative ideas on the subject are not coming up. Can you spell out a little more the avenues through which these ideas could come?

Mr. Keeney: Well, we've announced certain programs and we're receiving applications for them. Yesterday, we had a panel reviewing seventy-two research applications. Of these, I think they regarded something like twelve as first-rate, and another dozen as well worth funding. That isn't a very high percentage. The others would have simply resulted in more of the same. I haven't looked at the specific results of this examination. I may disagree very strongly with the panel and feel that they approved the more conventional and knocked out the more risky but possibly more fruitful. Humanists have not had the carrot on the stick for very long. And the way you get ahead as a humanist these days is to do some research. And if it's good research, you'll get ahead. Maybe if it's not very good research you'll get ahead. You don't get ahead very fast as a humanist having original ideas. And it's going to take quite a while to crack through that. Now, the way you can get ideas to us is simply to make a concise statement of the idea and send it in. And if it's within our program, we'll encourage you to make an application. If it isn't within our program and it looks good, I'll take Kathryn to lunch. That's the way it works. [LAUGHTER]

Audience: Something has come up over and over again in our discussions. I think most of us feel that children are being ejected from the schools who have considerable talent and potential, but that the issue of talent scouting is a pretty sad one within the school system. And that perhaps the identification of talent can best be accomplished not through educators but through professional artists. And for two reasons. One, because perhaps the professional artist has a greater sense of intouchness with what the creative scheme is about. Secondly, because the creative artist who is not a teacher might be free of the responsibilities and burdens of teachers in schools located in ghetto areas and freer to move in unorthodox ways. So I really have two questions. One, can we consider the possibility that we need to incorporate in ghetto schools or in ghetto areas more and more professional artists who have intuitive sense about what is needed and can function as magnets to those who have talent within schools and outside the schools? Can we provide funds to do that, one way or another? Can we provide money, either from O. E. O. or from the vocational-education program for those children who are identified as having talent but also need financial support to continue in these activities?

Mr. Keeney: I know that it works in colleges. A good professional artist can often have the effect you're talking about on students who are good enough to get into college but lose their drive while they're there. And I would suspect that it could be done very well in the schools and that it might be very helpful. I think maybe Roger would like to comment on that.

Mr. Stevens: Well, as I understand it, you were saying that if there were more artists connected with the schools, there might be fewer dropouts, because their talents would be more easily recognized by what you might call the simpatico feeling of the artist toward that particular type of person. Is that correct?

Audience: And if there were funds to support artists working within those settings, let's say in a workshop similar to Mr. Schulberg's without the formal course work that may really be adding to the young people's difficulties rather than facilitating their growth. There are two questions. One about whether artists could be funded to work in ghetto schools and ghetto areas . . .

Mr. Stevens: To answer the question specifically, we've talked about it a number of times, and it does get down to the problem of money, as much as I hate to bring it up. We have a few million dollars at the moment for covering the problems of the arts throughout the entire country. I think Kathryn gets a little annoyed at me at times. I can't help kidding her a bit, saying we're just poor relations. Dr. Keeney and myself with our endowments, we have about $5 million and I thought I heard Doc Howe say something about having $145 million available for the kind of projects that we have to handle. I would say that if our recommendations would help we would go with it 100 percent. I don't think we could be as effective as the Office of Education -- in terms of the cold cash that might be required to execute such a program -- but I personally am very sympathetic to that point of view.

Mr. Keeney: I think maybe the best thing to do at this stage would be to make a few small grants that would set up a team that would include this, but would also include people who are psychologists who are interested in trying to measure creativity, to run some demonstration projects and get some notion of whether it works or not. And if it works try to spread it.

Chairman: Actually, the kind of question you're asking is the sort of thing which is at the present being supported in a number of cities and is covered in Title III. This bringing of resources outside the school system into the schools to affect educational change or to raise educational levels is considered extremely important.

Chairman: Before we have more questions, may I suggest that we take a few moments for Mr. Phillip Schrager to talk about O. E. O. and its resources and then ask Mr. Stevens to talk a few minutes about the National Endowment for the Arts. And then you will have laid out before you, I think, a little bit more basic information about the kinds of projects to be supported by those agencies. Mr. Schrager?

Phillip Schrager: Thank you. I feel as though I really owe you an apology. I got hopelessly lost on the freeway this morning. So to compensate for that -- for my being late -- I hope you'll permit me to tell you a little story.

It happened to me very early in my life when I decided at one point that I might like to be an actor. And I worked very hard at that. I stammered a good deal. However, I did manage to get a very, very small walk-on role in a Yiddish play under the direction of Morrie Schwartz in New York. The play was called "Shylock's Daughter." And the opening night -- because it was a production of Mr. Schwartz's and he had a very loyal following in the community -- we played in a 2,000-seat house and we were full. The second and third nights there were less and less people. By the eighth performance we outnumbered them on the stage.

However, we did notice that in the third row in the orchestra in the center that a little old woman had come to every single one of the performances that we gave. Matinee and evening, every one. Sat religiously in the same seat and -- I mean, we couldn't help but notice, you know, because there were no people in the house. You know. And we asked around on the stage to find out if anybody claimed her. Nobody did. Nobody knew her. So we decided we would ask the stage manager if he would go out into the house during the first-act intermission one night and to solve this riddle for us. Who was this little old lady?

So, sure enough, he went out and he walked up the aisle after her and the conversation went like this: He said, "Excuse me, but I'm with the company on the stage. I'm the stage manager. And we've noticed that you have come to every single performance. And we're a little curious. Do you know somebody in the company?" And she said, "No, I don't know anybody." So, bein very ingenious he said, "Do you know somebody in the orchestra?" And she said, "No. It's a very nice orchestra, but I don't know anybody in that orchestra." So finally he said, "Well, do you know the playwright? The man who wrote the play?" She said, "No, I don't know him." So he said, "Do you like the play?" She said, "Listen, Mister, that's a rotten play." She said, "I have to tell you something. That's a rotten play. I've seen rotten plays, but that's . . ." So, finally, in desperation he said, "Well," he said, "why do you come to the theatre every night?" She said, "Why I come here?" He said, "Yes. Why?" She said, "Come with me." And she took him by the hand, literally, and walked him down the aisle to the third row and she said, "Now, sit down over here. This is my seat. Over here." She said, "You sit down over here. I'll show you. Sit down." She said, "Now there's the stage. Up there." And then she turned around and she said, "You see that light up there? That light warms up my whole back." She said, "I come for a heat treatment." [LAUGHTER].

Well, needless to say, these are the fringe benefits of the theatre. And being very close to the theatre, as I have been all of my life, I am concerned about the role of the arts and the artist in our society. I make no pretension or any claim to being an artist. However, I worked in the theatre and I have been very close to poverty most of my life, having been born into it.

My assignment -- I'm to bring you up to date; I won't bore you with the whole history here -- my assignment with the Office of Economic Opportunity is basically to write a study which will describe for the Office of Economic Opportunity the ways in which we might relate to the mass-communications media as support for local community-action programs.

This means how we might use television and radio -- I mean, to do the teaching that we do better, to organize those pockets of poverty more substantially and more concretely than we've done. We have, as you know, made some significant progress in helping relieve the burdens of poverty for people. We hope to do more.

The figures -- the hard number figures -- that relate to the creative arts in the poverty program are extremely hard to find. We know that creative activity exists in every community-action program in the country in some form. There are arts-and-crafts classes. There are drama classes. There are classes in painting. You see in the conference hall adjacent to this, I think, an exhibit or a part of an exhibit from the Smithsonian Institution which was done by our Job Corps people.

Now, the two programs of O. E. O. which have related to expressions of art and the encouragement of those expressions have been in the Job Corps and in the community-action programs. We have only, I think, and fairly recently, been aware or have become aware that the art which has come out of our Head Start program may be significant. And we hope that we will be able to do more of that.

It's very hard, I think, to set down here any parameter or any kind of hope that specific funds for the encouragement of art education, per se, will be forthcoming. However, this of itself is negative. However, the elasticity, the flexibility which allows such activity to flourish exists within the structure of the programs which O. E. O. has put into the field.

I could be abstract and say the best thing to do if you are an artist -- if you are concerned about poverty and if you are willing to relate to this population and its growth -- that you identify with those agencies which do exist. They exist in practically every community of the country in some form. We hope that by 1970 we will have touched every family living in poverty in the United States, in some way.

I very strongly believe that there is a role for the creative artist in this framework. I think that Mr. Zimmerman, who is with the Community Services Division of CAP -- I think Mr. Hess, who is also of the Planning Division of CAP -- I think these people and other people in the program can be helpful in leading you into that program and finding ways within existing structures to help support these kinds of activities.

I think it should begin and grow at the grass roots, where the programs are. I think that within those frameworks there may be minimal funds and then hopefully, with the assistance of the Office of Education and with the Endowment and with other people in the country who are concerned, that we might see a greater reality than we see today.

My hope is that we could respond to questions or that I could. And I would like to open that up now.

Chairman: Could I just suggest that we hear Mr. Stevens first and then open the floor to questions because that will give us the full range of Federal resources. Mr. Roger Stevens --

Mr. Stevens: Kathy, coming at the tail end of this long program and not knowing too much about what has gone on before, I'd like to take the liberty of making some unpopular statements. In the first place, since everyone is boasting about how poor and uninformed they are, I want to lay claim to five years during the depression, which most of you are too young to know about, in which I had an average income of $300 a year, I think, if it was that much. Detroit was the hardest hit of practically all the depression cities. I wasn't disadvantaged or deprived. I was just plain poor. You do get during a term of five years a pretty good insight into the problems of poverty if you don't have any money.

But what seems to me to be a problem is that we have a lot of resources that aren't being used. I attended the university through the public library of Detroit which was right around the corner and lived there for most of those five years. The librarians were very helpful. They set up courses to take -- when I say set up courses, I mean they gave me books to read and all that. Across the street there was the large Detroit Art Museum where people were very helpful and kind. The point I'm trying to make is this: there are resources that are not being used. I know there are a lot of reasons why they aren't being used and I'm sure they've all been stated, so I want to take the opposite side because I think these resources shouldn't be just scratched off as something that people can't use.

I have been looking at a speech that I was supposed to deliver that was very well written in which there was a quote from a very fine man by the name of Kenneth Clark -- here it is -- "The concrete fact of the ghetto is its physical ugliness, the dirt, the filth, the neglect. The parks are seedy with lack of care. The streets are crowded with people and refuse. In all of Harlem there is no museum, no art gallery, no art school, no theatre group. And despite the stereotype of the Negro as an artist, there are only five libraries but hundreds of churches and scores of fortune tellers. Everywhere there are signs of decay, abandonment, and defeat. The only constant characteristic is a sense of inadequacy. People seem to have given up in the little things that are so often a symbol of larger things." And, as I say, if you were in Detroit and didn't have any money during the depression, you can understand the problem of ever thinking you can pull yourself out of the morass.

Now, it seems to me the real problem is to somehow get across, especially to the younger students, what is available to them if they can become interested in the arts. By "available to them" I mean the pure joy you can obtain and the interest in life that you can have. I think there's been a problem, and I think Mr. Schulberg's work is very indicative of it, of an immense amount of talent that for some reason or other doesn't get anywhere in the schools in the normal way of learning, in the normal way of studying. And I do think the first thing that we could do with our small funds to be helpful (Mr. Keeney and I actually had a meeting on this subject yesterday) is to try to bring an awareness of the joys that are obtainable in the arts into the lives of these younger students.

There are people in the schools who for some reason or other are anti-administration; you might say I've always been anti-administration. I was against everybody and everything and had what was known as a very bad attitude according to the teachers. And I pray I still have it. But nevertheless that has held back a number of creative people, we know. There's nothing better to give an interest to young students who aren't getting along very well in the schools, even the primary schools, than to have a teacher with an interesting personality who's interested in the arts. I think practically anyone that's ever been successful at one time or other met someone who excited their interest in various art forms, thereby creating a future for the particular individual.

But, unfortunately, as time has gone on, I do find that these horrible words of discipline and work enter into life. And I think too often people overlook this fact in trying to set up educational programs. At some time or other, unfortunately, one does have to work, and at some time or other, one has to develop a discipline, as disagreeable as these facts are. And I do think there's been too much emphasis on environment.

I remember I was doing a play about twelve years ago called "The Bad Seed." I don't know whether any of you know the story. Very roughly the idea of it is that this young girl was a first-rate murderer at the age of eight or nine years old. She was committing murder after murder. It turned out that her grandmother was one of the famous criminals of the world and no one -- she'd been adopted -- no one knew this until some background was dug up about her. I only bring that point up very briefly and inadequately to go on to the real point I'm trying to make. At that time I was a member of the Playwrights' Company and we had terrific arguments because many of the playwrights felt -- I mean the members of the company felt -- that you couldn't possibly inherit a tendency to murder.

But we got the play on. Max Anderson adapted it from a book by March called "The Bad Seed." Then there began a very strong whispering campaign against it among what (for lack of a better word) we'll call liberal circles, and this was all new to me because I couldn't believe at that time that heredity didn't enter into any of the factors of life and that all troubles were caused by environment. As I would go around town, I could really practically spot a person's political affiliation by their reaction to "The Bad Seed." It was a very interesting year. And then as soon as somebody would blast off against this play, I would say, "Well, you're one of those." And they'd look at me sort of peculiarly and realize that I knew what we were both talking about that wasn't said.

I feel that there's been such a fetish made of environment and so little done about trying to create interest and discipline and hard work. I know it sounds like all the horrible things people said to me when I was young, things that I had to do to get ahead in the world. But I hope that some consideration would be given to this, nonetheless.

I can assure you that as far as the Arts Council is concerned that we would like to do everything possible. And I think, if we can obtain a bigger backing from Congress, that we can give talented artists or potential artists a chance they might not have under the present educational system.

And we can do it in a number of ways. If we finance artists with grants, we ought to ask them -- and we've thought about this a great deal -- to go into public schools and be available. The trouble is that though some artists would be just fine at that, others would be very bad. And it isn't just as simple as trying to relate a person's teaching ability to their ability as an artist -- but we're going to study that. And as I said before, we're going to work on creativity and see if the anti-social people who have ability can't become interested in the arts.

But all this doesn't do very much for the person whom I really have most sympathy for, and that's the person without talent and ability to get ahead. Somewhere I think we have to address ourselves to that. You mentioned television and radio. We're on the brink of educational television securing a great deal more help, and I would hope that we can be a part of improving those programs. We have done a little in that. We've made a substantial grant to ETV station Channel 13 and they're going to put together 20 shows this year, and we've also made these shows available free to the other ETV stations. We are trying to do a project that we call the laboratory theatre project for lack of a better word -- to increase the interest in classics in public schools. With the cooperation of the Office of Education, we're going to produce in two cities a series of five plays with a first-rate professional company, plays that will also be studied in the classroom. Hopefully the impact will create in the students an interest in reading the classics and having them mean something. It's a different way of having an outstanding personality create interest in the great works of art.

Of course, we are giving grants to various artists themselves, but that isn't very pertinent to this conference. One thing that we are trying to do which we feel is practical is to enable artists to get good housing and working quarters, which we can do by taking old, abandoned factory buildings and having them converted into living and working quarters at a price that the artists can afford to pay. We find that that's one thing that most painters and sculptors feel the most strongly about.

As for music -- I hope there'll be a time when we can provide live performances free of charge. I think there's evidence of the demand. It was shown in the concerts of the Philharmonic this summer where incredible numbers -- something like 70,000 to 100,000 people -- came out to hear the concerts. I think the work that Joe Papp has been doing in New York has been outstanding. We made him a substantial grant and we're going to try to do more for him, even though I do like to point out that a lot of these things we do are frowned on because we take the position that with our limited funds we can only do pilot projects that are national in scope. And so they say to me, "What's national in scope about Joe Papp's project in New York City?" Well, I think it's national in scope. I think it's setting a fine example. And I think that there's no one in the country that deserves more credit for helping the deprived and disadvantaged to enjoy life than Joe Papp. Whether anyone likes it or not, we'll continue to help him and help him substantially. I understand he was out in Los Angeles recently trying to set up his program there.

There is one point that we constantly make -- that the artists themselves have been subsidizing the arts, because most of them haven't been very well paid, if at all. And we feel that one of the first steps we can accomplish would be to take the artists out of the field of being disadvantaged or deprived. I know Milt Lyon knows better than I do how few actors really make a living, and you can extend that to concert artists and the like. The trouble is the concentration on the few. We also feel we have a very important educational job to do in trying somehow to take the excessive emphasis off the stars. Actors don't have to have a great name to be interesting on the stage and the same way with musicians. I think, because of publicity, whenever anyone becomes pretty good they suddenly become great and everyone wants to hear them and/or see them, and we've got to do something about spreading artistic abilities throughout the country and having them appreciated.

So, fundamentally, we're trying to do two things. One is to create an appreciation for the artist and his problems. And the other is to create an audience. And I think that where our work would mostly apply to what's been going on here would be our ability to bring fine works of art to people who do not have the money to pay for them. I think that if we grow, we will concentrate more and more in that area. I think if there are things that I've left out we'll hear about them now.

* * *

Audience: I have several questions. First of all I don't approve of the idea of doing more research in creativity. Some of the things we've talked about, it seems to me, point up the problem of not finding out what creativity is but of finding out what makes those people different from all the other people. I would like some money spent in that direction instead of on research in creativity. What seems to me pertinent to this particular conference is how to turn on interested people, and bring them together with the right people.

Mr. Stevens: Yes, well I can agree with your approach. We have friendly arguments with the Office of Education because Doc Howe says he doesn't like innovations, we only like innovations. They like guidelines and we don't like guidelines. What I really meant to say was we want to take results from present research and see if we can't get the show on the road. I'm convinced it's true: I think there's been sufficient evidence that the creative abilities have an advantage for recognizing creative talent.

Audience: How do you suggest that due to the fact that we have limited money and since there is such a high priority on living space for artists --

Mr. Stevens: There's all the money in the world for that in all the rest of the departments of government. But the problem is that to go in and get a loan from a government agency, you have to have a set of plans, certain kinds of specifications of plans, before you can get a loan. I mean, this is just a fact of life. Our funds are to give if a group of artists want to convert a building into artists' quarters. We would advance the money so that they could obtain this loan and we could get our money back. This is just a revolving fund, involving fifty to a hundred million dollars -- which we haven't got now.

Audience: Artists will go where they have space. If you can develop residential facilities for artists within ghetto areas, you will be bringing in groups of live artists into these areas. In and of themselves, simply their presence will give something to these areas.

Mr. Stevens: I think your point is perfectly valid.

Audience: I wanted to have the self-control to stay put -- [LAUGHTER] but Dr. Keeney, it gives me the courage to take a hunk of your time to take a chance of embarrassment to myself again in the effort to try to relate an idea that I have brought to the conference in the hope that it would be of value. And it starts on the level of what creativity really is. Our idea is that unless the artist knows himself then he cannot create incentive anywhere. And that has been the gap between the artist and what he's trying to relate to. Well, this is true with the world at large. If art is a thing that enables us to look back on history and affirm ourselves -- the only substantial record we have of what the human being is, was, and will be -- then consequently that's our only source of affirming our own selves. So eight of us have been discussing these things for about two years. If artists continue to put themselves on pedestals, it is because the world has done this to them and they have been lauded and consequently the gap seemingly has never been bridged. So, taking a chance of embarrassing myself again, I would like to see whether or not this approach is of value to this conference with the possibility of making it more feasible as a study. You know it's difficult even to find the language to form the questions to ask for assistance. So we have been determined to go right along with it, to develop a system, but we feel that with assistance, we could move faster. And here I have gotten a few ideas from the study we have done. These are fragmentations and the language is peculiar probably, but that's the difficulty of defining creativity. These are our ideas of the artist and what he needs to know -- they number from one to nineteen, with three notes:

(1) That art and creativity are separate and distinct. One must one's self put them together.

(2) That identity first manifests itself in being; not race, color, or origin.

(3) That it is at one time or another necessary to disbelieve everything.

(4) That the function of the intellect is to transform not transmit.

(5) Discount the intellect if the sensing is not paid attention to simultaneously.

(6) That man has a universal language and only spoken by those who cannot read well.

(7) The organism is always right; it is the system that is wrong.

(8) Right and wrong, good and bad, yin and yang, are all one and the same except at opposite ends of themselves.

(9) You cannot see yourself through yourself; you absolutely need others but not all the time. [LAUGHTER]

(10) To whatever extent you can encompass 5,000 years of civilization, to this extent you are worthwhile. (That is a value judgment.)

(11) That identity again is always the self with which you are poorly acquainted.

(12) That being only constitutes an own individual being, and that existence and becoming do not necessarily follow.

(13) That one is a single entity and absolutely disconnected from all others.

(14) Connectedness stands only as a possibility through one's own efforts.

(15) That connectedness is construed to be that of communication and not in any way confused with a process called verbal and biological intercourse.

(16) That communication and communication only stands as a reason for existence.

(17) That upon the ground of communication stands creativity, the essence of which is truth and freedom, named in that order.

(18) That death lies someplace between verbal and biological intercourse.

(19) That to ever desire to become an artist is to die prematurely.

Note #1: Please note: For some strange reason, God is not mentioned here.

Note #2: That it is not through love that Man is effective but by permission only.

Note #3: If one does not know these things one need not worry; that 99-9/10 percent of the world population also does not know. [LAUGHTER]

From which you get a definition for creativity. It's too simple, really, to be the definition. Creativity, we believe, is the act of doing something devoid of the idea of productivity. Art is what people say about creativity. Now my question is -- does it seem as though these ideas are worthwhile following through from the point of view that help may be forthcoming?

Mr. Stevens: Well, you feel that there's such a gap between the artist and the rest of the population that our duty would be somehow to close that gap -- to bring the work of the artist to the rest of the people. I know there's a gap. I think that the creative artist, generally speaking, is reasonably happy, unless he's got too many physical and financial problems. But you feel that the Arts Council to truly do a job should close the gap between the artist and the rest of the population so that the rest of the population can get from the artist what he has to offer and what his creativity has to offer? Did I understand that correctly?

Audience: Primarily, yes. It's only that an artist can think to bridge that gap and no one else can, because he's the only one who's experimenting with himself in relationship to the thing he's doing. We sense at this meeting -- that here's the educator over here and the artist over here and the twain seem never to meet. My idea and that of the eight people who have been working on this for a few years is that we have a working format and a premise that seems to work.

Chairman: I wonder if we could have a comment from Mel Tumin on this.

Mr. Tumin: No, I'd like to shift gears if I could and ask Mr. Schrager a question -- taking a cue from your lovely story about the lady who needed heat treatment for which she was paying a lot more money than if she'd bought a sun lamp, and your statement that there's no explicit provision for art in the poverty program. Can you come to art in the poverty program in terms of possible grants and programs that you've developed by recommending heat treatments which then get people exposed to the arts?

Mr. Schrager: In a way we've done it but, as I say, these are very hard to pin down. In every community action agency in this country, you have two things operating. One -- you have an agency which is funded, for those programs which it has described. Now within those program structures, I believe firmly, there is latitude which operates at the prerogative of that agency's director and staff to explore and for ingress of the artist into the community. There is a way of doing that. We have done it.

Audience: How do you get at your program director?

Mr. Schrager: Well, you call him on the phone and you make an appointment. You find out where they are. No? Why do you say no?

Audience: I mean realistically. You can call the program directors of the poverty program and actually get to them?

Mr. Schrager: Speaking of the program directors, I have had occasion to visit many of them across the country this summer. And I didn't get that impression. I do know, and they all expressed -- or many of you people expressed a desire to have an arts component but they said that there was a sort of unwritten policy, and so far O. E. O. had not embraced the idea of direct funding to arts programs.

Audience: I would say there may be some, and there are a few fellows who are a little imaginative and who manage to take a poke at it. But this can be even more destructive because, here again, it's another kind of condescension, I feel, to come into an area -- into a poverty area -- and pretend to give arts programs. Now I've also had the experience of attempting to build an arts program in Harlem, and so I have a little first-hand insight as to what some of the problems were. You're probably right -- some guys are attempting it through disguise, which right away makes it kind of difficult for growth and continuity and program symmetry and what have you. But when you're dealing with art people and you're trying to do art programs in poverty areas, it's especially difficult to be "hittin' and missin'," as they say, and to operate successfully within a chaotic environment. I don't mean the ghetto itself, I mean the kind of new environment that's created around the whole administrative problem and all the local hassles. When I talk to the guys who are in the midst of riots and everything else, they say, I can't go with that -- I have to go with bread-and-butter programming. You know. So the question is: is your office softening? Are they more amenable now? Because the language that has gone trickling down to your directors is that even if I do desire an art program, I can't do it. We're talking about art as a primary factor. We're talking about art as at least an equal component to mathematics and science and everything else in life. I really want to make this point. If we're going to set up arts programs in poverty areas, I'd rather not have anything at all than to have a jive program...

Mr. Schrager: What's a "jive" program?

Audience: One that is condescending and one that's good enough for those people who live in that area.

Audience: I'd like to second that -- in direct experience too. Let me say that in my experience the O. E. O. has not supported such programs. Furthermore there's a kind of -- we're trying to put it on the table now -- a kind of deception of the community --

Mr. Schrager: Deception?

Audience: -- deception of the community by promoting filtering down as the way to get funds -- by calling it job training or apprentice training, or putting it into some other bailiwick but never really calling it art. And that seeps down all the way through the community -- everyone in the community knows about it. So I think we have to have some truer statements. The O. E. O. is not going to fund such programs.

Chairman: I think there are several people here who want to speak to this point. Let's give them all a chance to speak and then you can answer. Harold, you wanted to --?

Audience: I think that the artist is going to sell himself short if he doesn't watch his step and once again the Salvation Army will move and Christmas will pass by him. We are not, you see, second-class citizens and I protest that you assume that you must support the arts outside the mainstream. I protest to you, sir, the assumption that the artist is not a very methodic or exact kind of thinker. I protest the assumption that environment does not produce behavior. There is a need for a new problem-solver who sees the whole, totally, not just the periphery. And the reason that artists act like second-class citizens is because we have treated them as such. I listen to the problems and see the qualities of these people who have the ability to make education work and who stay as second-class citizens, and it's bothered me no end. I had to make that statement to you.

Audience: I wish you gentlemen had been here for all the deliberations of this conference, because there's been a lot of talk from the panel about grassroots and getting programs started at the community level and this is really where the arts belong and where they live. And yet, in your analysis of the kind of work you are supporting -- or not supporting, as the case may be -- the small, informal, close-to-the-community organizations supported by the tremendous resources that are available in cities and that might be made available in an innovative way, in other areas of the country, are completely neglected. A program that we might deem grassroots with one hundred thousand people in Central Park -- you know, those hundred thousand people did a lot of damage to the grass on the lawns -- is really not an artistic program that leads out into mind and heart and soul of the poor. I think there's a misinterpretation of what poverty means if we restrict it only to income levels. My family was poor too, but I was not disadvantaged. I think the time has come when money needs to be spent in imaginative ways for bringing people directly into contact with the arts. And not as placid observers but as actual and active participants. I think, for instance, that programs of bringing children in to hear concerts are good, insofar as they go. But a structure -- I hate to use the word, but it's the only one I can think of at the moment -- we need a structure of preparation of these children by teachers -- actual contact with performers, and then a follow-up, after a concert has been given. We need smaller groups who may get appearances in the schools -- not on a one-shot basis, which delivers a highly predictable program and then disappears, only to leave the ghetto area more disadvantaged than when they came in. In other words, what we have been saying here -- and I don't think there's a division in our ranks at all, as somebody indicated there was before -- what we have been saying is that we need a close cooperation between teachers, performers, psychologists, to develop the kind of ongoing program that will instruct children, and not the massive attempt at dealing with large groups of people on the incorrect assumption that this is bringing culture to the poor.

Chairman: If I can be arbitrary for just a moment. Phil hasn't had an opportunity to respond to a variety of questions or comments directed to O. E. O. Shall we give you the floor for a moment?

Audience: There is that problem here where what the artist does and why he does it and the way he does it is essentially different from what the schools do or any program like O. E. O. And I feel very strongly that, especially in ghetto areas, the child -- because the schools are so bad and because they don't even begin to do the things that they're supposed to do -- that whatever money we have now should be spent in programs which do not relate to the schools or to a program like O. E. O. I mean these are the artistic projects that are working, projects which have been almost set up, or conceived, in opposition to what the schools are supposed to be doing. Now I think that money spent to research something as abstract as creativity is wasted money, when there isn't much money and that money could be given to reinforce whatever projects crop up that are working. And there are such projects, if we look for them.

Chairman: I would just like to observe that I happen to disagree. But if I could make a comment here. When you're talking about Federal funds, you're not talking about "you wish to do this," or "you choose to do this." You work in terms of appropriations which are given to you to administer by Congress. And if you have research money entailed, as many of us do, then you have to have the factual background on which to go rather than operating purely on intuition. And at the same time, as Mr. Howe said when he was here, all of us would like to see some excellent demonstration programs mounted. Perhaps even take some of the ideas around this table a step further which can provide examples and live models.

Audience: I agree with you. But I think we have a point of view, too. We would like to see a bill pushed in Congress to liberate a few plums to help some people in the street, who are with the action. Just let's trade.

Mr. Schrager: All right. Now if I may comment on Budd's statement. Basically what you say is true. There are no funds per se. I think I said that, for these kinds of programs. There are none. I am projecting hope into what I say because I would like to see these agencies which do exist become involved in these kinds of things. Not too long ago, I sat at your end of the table. I am not a staff member of O. E. O. I'm a consultant to O. E. O. And I developed a program for Los Angeles which was a performing-arts training program which, in that sense, designed an idea or developed an idea which said: "If we train people in the performing arts, is that really enough, in terms of the labor market, the potential work, even in Hollywood, etc., etc.?" You know, are these kinds of things the things we should be doing? Or should we take these same people from this ghetto area and provide them with professional performing and technical skills and then find that agency within the government that can relate to support for theatre in that area to give these people a plant in which to operate, to support them for a reasonable demonstrable period of time, to educate the community to the existence of this entity in that community and to do a throughgoing job in the development of at least a theatre outlet in the ghetto area? Is this a reasonable kind of a demonstration project? I thought that it was. I felt that it was. I know that these talents do exist in the community. We had that demonstrated. We don't have to have that demonstrated over and over. We know it's there.

Audience: The quotation from Kenneth Clark reminded me of a statement that Rachel Carson made about wishing for every child in the world a sense of wonder so strong that it would be an unfailing antidote against the disenchantments and thwartings of life, the preoccupation with things that are artificial and the alienation from the sources of our strength. I don't pretend to have gone through all the literature on creativity, but I think there is enough reputable work around to support the idea that our society does tend to stifle -- and I'm using the word "stifle" -- creativity in our children. I'm talking about all of our children. And this natural, this creative start that children are born in the world with, we out of love kill -- this is a thing that concerns me. We must understand that teachers are also victims of the systems which have killed and stifled creativity, as much as the children. I'm not concerned about talent and product. I am concerned about a talent for living. I am concerned about strengthening people so that they do not face hopelessness. I have nothing against the artist -- I love him, make no mistake about it. His ultimate product is testimony to the fact of what we, as human beings, have. I am saying let us do things for all children which will keep that spark alive. Somebody said the other day that in interpersonal human relations by 1980, 1990, we'll be elbow to elbow. We can't get along now. What's going to happen then? I'm saying let's do something to help these children now. Let's strengthen the thing that they come in the world with and not kill it. Then he can sit on the green in New York and enjoy the product of the artist because his own private creativity has been awakened and his experience follows the artist's own. And the question I want to ask is this, Mr. Keeney: is it possible that you would bring together classroom teachers with various people working in the arts in programs that will strengthen creative abilities in children, involve the professional artist, the teacher in the arts, the psychologist or the researcher, all of them? Bring these teachers in, awaken them. We all have creativity. There is a mass of people who have a spark that is never fanned. Let's work out something so that we can give people a talent for living. Could this happen?

Mr. Keeney: Oh yes, and I hope it will. I think I need to make some things I said a little clearer, maybe I'll make them much too clear in doing so. They relate to your question. I have no doubt at all that there is a significant number of people from all walks of life who are not reached by the sort of verbal education that we customarily have. I'm also quite assured that they can be reached by other means. Even if it's as humble a thing as manual training. Sometimes when an unsuccessful child has his first well-guided opportunity to do something really well, success will billow out. You have a number of hazards here. You take this kid, and I've done this, and you work with him for a long time, a kid who's never done anything well. And you get him to make some simple object extremely well, and it comes to be time for his family to come and take him home, they look at this beautiful object that the kid is so proud of, and they say: "You couldn't possibly have done this." [LAUGHTER] He's right back where he was when he started. Now, I think that if we can find a way better than we have been using so far to determine what is the strength of the kid, we can direct his education much better. And that is why I'm interested in this creativity study. I don't think that out of this are going to come more creative artists of the first rank. I think out of it there are going to come more adequate people.

Audience: At the school where we are, which is now over three years old, we were rather helpless in trying to get funds. We had twenty-five children who were waiting and calling at the office every day. Fortunately, some other foundations did help us so that the children were not left out in the summer. The way to really help a child grow is first to put his roots down very solidly and very deep. Our children live in a society where they are denied because of their economic status, because of the status of their parents. I wonder if there isn't some way -- we're doing it in our little group -- to bring the parents along with the child. I will not accept the child in my school unless I have his parents. But are there funds where you would have artists create things for children? I think there are exciting possibilities in theatre. If we could get people who are competent to really work on that. I see the children change before my eyes when you give them an excitement and -- this is not art for art's sake. This is really putting beauty into children's lives. And you are giving people a new way of seeing.

Mr. Stevens: Well, to answer your question, the Endowment for the Arts has $4 million -- for all the categories of the arts all over the country, which as compared to the other giant programs -- the poverty programs and the education programs -- is not much. But to answer your question specifically, you have to go to Congress with proof, as if you want us to undertake a project to see how it works in your specific case, we would give it every possible consideration, hoping that we could then go to our rich relatives. We would only take a single project -- what we would call a pilot project -- because we only have $4 million for the whole country. I would be very glad to talk to you about that because it relates to some other projects, but I would think that we should do something if it will help the problems of the O. E. O and the Office of Education have that they could say, "Look at what happened with the Community School, we think this should be done many more times throughout the country." That's the way we could be helpful, but only on a one case basis. I'd very much like to talk with you.

Chairman: It's my understanding that our guests at the head table will be with us through the day. Hopefully, you'll have a chance to talk to them individually. Before we disperse, may I say thank you for coming Phillip, Barnaby, and Roger.

[APPLAUSE]

RECOMMENDATIONS

WORK-GROUP CHAIRMEN'S REPORTS

The report of the Work-Groups, which follow, were given on the last afternoon of the Seminar. The recommendations which they contain suggest many areas for future action: demonstration programs, evaluation of on-going and new programs, identification of areas of success and means of disseminating information.

Report of Sub-Committee A of Work Group I

Edward Mattil

There is genuine and sincere feeling among this group that the arts do have an important role to play in the lives of the disadvantaged, and there are sufficient programs of merit to prove the effect of such programs. However, it is generally recognized that too few attempts have been made to gather and disseminate sufficient evidence to validate this viewpoint. Very little has been done to investigate the problems of what one learns through the arts or how learning in the arts takes place -- or even whether the values which are generally being attributed to the arts might not be as effectively, or even more effectively, made by other means. Our intuition tells us positively that the arts do have a unique contribution to make to the lives of humans but if "someday, somewhere when you least expect it" you are asked to prove it, just smile and hope you are really on "Candid Camera."

It seems apparent that the arts have many different reasons for being in widely divergent programs. The reasons may vary from increasing aesthetic literacy, to therapy, or from the production of art with a capital "A" to pure entertainment. Each of these uses can and should be valid but each use, of course, requires its own set of goals, its own set of procedures to reach those goals, and its own outcomes. The measure of success of any program can be determined by comparing its outcomes with its goals, not by comparing one program with another -- this would be like comparing peaches and potatoes. On the whole, we apparently fail to get sufficient evidence of our successes, and when we do have evidence of importance, we do not have enough of Madison Avenue built into our systems to sell our success stories. We sometimes get small recognition, but the very nature of artistic people almost precludes the possibility of using unusual amounts of energy for this purpose. Artistic people tend to look ahead to the next step, the next project. This suggests that both evaluation and dissemination, two much-used terms, ought to be integral parts of every program, with someone looking into these responsibilities.

The following recommendations, not in any order of priority, were made by members of this group regarding the kinds of practices that might prove valuable in using the arts to enhance not only the lives of the disadvantaged but other groups as well. These do not represent a consensus, and therefore any minority reports or viewpoints are in order.

1. It is important to find a way to use the artistic human resources -- both in and out of the educational institutions in the community -- in a sustained way. Outside-of-school experiences can feed back and reinforce school programs. Research is needed to study the effects that artists in the schools have upon the programs, and what effects they may have in stimulating creative action. Although we have heard many examples of outstanding programs, at the present there is little evidence to indicate any widespread use of these important resource people.

2. We need to establish agencies through which the artistic resources of the community can be employed and paid for in the schools. At present there appear to be no comprehensive federations of arts groups that can be called upon by the schools so that artists and other kinds of aesthetic resources can be efficiently utilized.

3. There is a great need to identify procedures whereby artists who would like to work in or out of the schools could be appropriately screened or interviewed in order to determine their suitability for working with children in either setting.

4. There is a need to systematically evaluate existing art projects both publicly and privately supported. Research is needed to look at those projects already operational to determine if they are doing what they want or purport to do, and to attempt to identify those factors leading to the success or failure of the programs.

5. There is a need to study the means by which successful programs can be expanded and replicated. We need a searching examination of the problems of the preparation of teachers and the preparation of teaching materials.

6. There is a need to clarify the nature of innovation, especially with respect to funds secured through Title III, because of the obvious misconceptions of the meaning of the term. For example, it is not clear whether innovation is used in the context of the nation, or if we are thinking of innovation within a particular situation. What might be innovative in one situation may already have been adopted or even long since forgotten in another situation.

7. There is a great need for procedures and tools for evaluation of the programs in the arts. There is a dearth of materials available for assessing the contributions of the arts in the learning process, or generally in the lives of children or adults. Such materials need to be formulated but will depend upon those responsible for programs to determine what the specific goals of these programs are -- be it the increase in perceptual literacy, the increase

of conceptual information, the change in patterns of behavior, etc. The kinds of evidence that can be produced by the study of the effects of arts education on children may become the strongest leverage for continuous, long-term, and adequate support of programs in the arts.

8. It is important to identify the peculiar contributions that the arts can make to the education and the lives of children and to identify the particular contributions that each one of the arts makes. While it may be that there are some contributions common to all of the arts, there are certainly contributions unique to acting, dance, the visual arts, and music. Once these are identified, it may be possible to establish certain priorities that are not now possible to make.

9. There is a need not only to look at the unique contribution of the arts but to reverse the procedure -- namely, to look at the particular characteristics each group of disadvantages may have, and once having identified those characteristics or needs, to begin to determine the particular contributions that the arts can make to alleviate those needs. For example, if one begins with the assumption that a particular group of children is disadvantaged in terms of both intellectual achievement and social detachment, the arts program would be designed to focus upon the stimulation of intellectual curiosity and learning and the problem of social realization. The illustrations of Harold Cohen, where art with a capital "A" was not an important part of the early perceptual experiences of the delinquents in his study, is a case in point. The nature of the problem, or at least the way one conceptualizes it, has a great deal to do with the way art is used.

10. There is a need to formulate a national academy or laboratory which would combine personnel

in the social sciences, behavioral sciences, and the arts so that the arts programs and teaching in the arts can be evaluated at their inception, rather than on an ex post facto basis, which seems to be the case at present. At the present time there seems to be no single agency which brings together those trained in the social sciences, behavioral sciences, and the arts so that the effects of the arts can be appraised with some validity. The initial concept of the regional education laboratories could serve as a model for such an academy or laboratory.

11. Any laboratory, agency, artistic group, or consortium which is sponsored by Federal agencies or which receives tax moneys should be made up of the various ethnic components of the community the group is to serve, and they should be represented from the initial conception through all states of operation.

12. There is a need to carefully document successful programs in the arts, not only to serve as models but to educate the entire nation in regard to the values of art in human existence We may have a product which is as irresistible as cigarettes or beer but we surely don't know how to sell it.

13. There is a need to keep up to date on technology and find if there are ways of adapting newer instructional media to supplement instruction and to expand possibilities.

14. There is a need for even wider experimentation with using the arts as major means of communication for the core of in-school programs. Additional in-school experiments similar to the Raleigh, N. C. project and Harold Cohen's project should be set up where conditions are the most difficult.

15. The present structure of the schools in many instances is almost self-defeating and represents a position of anti-art.

16. We need to study where the greatest "payoff" is possible in relation to the available resources both monetary and human. For example, can in-service education of teachers have greater long-term effects than programs directed to children? On the other hand, the process of "scatteration" may have no measurable effect as compared with providing programs for a limited number of children -- for instance, the talented, the handicapped, etc.

17. We need to study the early identification of talent and the means to establish informal in-school programs which sustain this talent regardless of other levels of achievement in formal education.

Again, these represent a compilation of what I think I've heard plus some of my own opinions. It is my opinion that other viewpoints are equally valid for, indeed, these do represent only viewpoints at this moment.

Report of Sub-Committee B of Work Group I

Francis Bosworth

I. The Role of the Arts in Education

These past days have only confirmed the power and value of the arts as a method of communication, an instrument of education, and a basic ingredient of living. Art is a powerful force and method of education which can take place in the streets, settlement houses, community centers, or any facilities the community has to offer including custodial institutions, mental or correctional. It is also evident that the arts can make their greatest impact within the formal structure of public, parochial, and independent schools. These are the generic agencies charged with education.

We believe the artist -- as well as the arts -- has a basic role in education and that ways must be found to: (1) bring the artist into the school and in direct relations with the students; (2) offer teaching skills to the artist to make his contribution more effective; (3) give teachers direct experience with the arts and with artists; (4) establish the necessity for the teacher to understand the independent approach of the artist, and for the artist to understand the professional commitment of the teacher.

We need more effective means to recruit artists and to retain them in these educational programs. Certainly the artist should be paid a professional salary. This morning it was said that the artist has always subsidized the arts. He must be relieved of more of this burden. We need more "green power."

Schools should be helped to examine their programs and explore the many ways the artist can improve the quality of teaching and increase understanding within the established curriculum.

II. The Problems in Selling Our Convictions

"No one wants to fund the Arts!"

This has been the most often repeated statement of the conference. If we are to achieve our objective we must convince the public at large, the taxpayers and the voluntary givers, the Education Establishment, and the power structure of business and finance of what we believe.

One of the handicaps is that the artist has been so creative and innovative that he has kept the arts alive with little or nothing. The artist is the original architect of the Poverty Program and is still living in the house he built. Consequently, even those who are sympathetic do not feel the urgency for finding funds for adequate support because they know that the artist will survive.

We must launch into a program of selling the arts as a vital component of our national life.

III. Public Relations

We need to use all the techniques of interpretation and modern salesmanship to reach our sources of support. We recommend that the Office of Education take leadership and act as a national clearinghouse to collect, evaluate, prepare, and disseminate exemplary action-programs of the arts which speak to our concern and for the public. For instance, programs designed for:

1. Dropouts and unemployed youth, to help them become self-supporting taxpayers instead of tax-consumers;

2. Slow learners and apathetic children and youths, who are motivated to learn and continue education;

3. Street gangs and extremely hostile youth with records of violence and vandalism who are helped to change -- to stop destroying themselves and others -- because of their participation in an arts program and, hopefully, prepared to take a constructive approach to their lives;

4. Mentally disturbed and psychotic children and adolescents who are helped to find their way back to reality and to adjust to life through participation in the arts (these examples would include youth of the middle-class and even affluent youth);

5. Boys in correctional institutions who have used the arts to bring focus and meaning to their lives, with results measurable in a decreased recidivism (the national average is that 70 percent of boys sent to correctional institutions are again brought before the courts before they are twenty-five years old);

6. Demonstrating to industry that an enriched school curriculum which includes a spectrum of the arts will be a major asset to them in

recruiting and retraining employees who look for these opportunities for their children. This becomes a weightier argument today as industry is moving out to suburban and rural areas.

IV. Possible Methods of Dissemination

We recommend that the Office of Education collect and disseminate these collected action-experiences but that the work be carried out by state and community groups and pervade all levels and all areas. This cannot be left to happenstance and good will. It must be directed, organized, and focused to those we wish to reach. There are various means at hand.

Every state now has an arts council, eligible to receive matching funds from the National Endowment for the Arts. Part of their task should be to take responsibility for coordinating, assembling, and disseminating this material. We also recommend that there be a counterpart within the National Endowments, and that there be established liaison among the state councils, the National Endowments, and the Arts and Humanities Program in the Office of Education.

We also recommend that local arts consortia be established of people and organizations concerned with arts and education. The consortia would operate, coordinate, interpret, and promote the program in their communities. Such autonomous groups would offer great diversity and could be a rich source of experiment, information, and study.

In our interpretation or promotion we must develop methods to speak to the mass public as well as the decision-makers at all levels of influence.

V. The Reality

To the extent that we cannot achieve the foregoing we are in trouble. We must not only reach and talk to the broad public and particular populations, but we must remain in continuous communication.

We believe we must take recognition of the political realities which form the background of our discussion. Most important are the implications of the recent elections. If we can accept the interpretations of the news weeklies, the syndicated columnists, and prestige papers such as The New York Times and The Wall Street Journal, the facts and interpretations are these:

> The Democratic party lost more elective offices across the board than they gained in the avalanche victory of 1964. The party of the Administration has registered a net loss of forty-seven seats in the House of Representatives, three in the Senate, eight governorships and six hundred and seventy-seven seats in state legislatures. The impact may be greater than the numerical results. For instance, Illinois and Texas are the only two populous states who retain Democratic governors.

The consensus of these news media as to why the Democrats lost has even more sober connotations. It is said that the Democratic candidates spent too much time campaigning in the cities in order to win votes of the poor and the population of the inner cities while the victorious candidates concentrated on the suburban communities whose values and aims are at complete odds with the urban poor.

It is further predicted that the anti-poverty program is in for trouble; that further legislation and appropriations for the Office of Economic Opportunity, as well as rent subsidies, are going to have a hard time; that education legislation may hold its own by relinquishing some of its authority to the states; that vocational training and programs to reduce unemployment should be relatively safe as long as they hold a high priority in the Department of Labor.

We should then support the present move that anti-poverty programs be put under the umbrella and protection of established Government agencies such as Health, Education, and Welfare and the Department of Labor. We have precedents in the New Deal programs by which the W. P. A. and N. Y. A. were liquidated but P. W. A. was retained under the Department of the Interior. Programs can continue in policy and spirit even though the labels may be changed.

VI. Goals

To make our program a reality, it is our charge that all concerned people take this as their charge, and that as individuals and collectively within all our groups we work through our local and state and Federal representatives to make clear our commitment and to demonstrate the value of the arts as a fundamental ingredient in education.

In all of our programs values must be established from the outset. These include the participation of all people in the planning and operation of projects, again demonstrating that "the ends pre-exist in the means."

Minority Report by Tom Dent

Make sure that effective integration be a concern of the National Endowment for the Arts, at all levels of operation. (Roger Stevens answered this by saying jobs were offered to Negroes, who turned them down. F. B.)

Report of Work Group II

Jerrold Ross

I am delighted to be the second of the chairmen reporting, as this places me nearer the end of the conference and therefore in a better position to run from possible criticism. I should like to assure you, however, that most of this report is comprised of direct quotations from the participants.

The unanimity of purpose, I am sure, can be detected throughout the many and varied comments contained in these pages. Perhaps the most haunting theme, if I may be forgiven that musical reference -- for as everyone knows, music is the supreme art -- was that the arts must be central rather than peripheral to the education of man, and particularly in the case of the disadvantaged.

The problem of creating favorable attitudes and understanding on the part of the general public, and even many highly educated and artistic personalities, has been well articulated throughout the conference. So our work group devoted much time to an examination of those program possibilities that would help to effect this necessary, indeed vital, commitment by society.

Traditionally, the arts have been supported by "patrons" or "charitable benefactors." (Either term is applicable depending upon the extent of the gift or its position on the income tax form.) The sciences have had a different orientation. Highly structured, and seemingly striving to be more perfect, they have not taken for granted their share of the educational program (and concomitantly, of educational support). They have fought a long battle by reason, persuasion, and actual study to achieve the eminence they now possess. The artist, on the other hand, has assumed he is secure when the truth may be that he is not. His chief battle has been, like Greta Garbo's, to be left alone.

However, it was the opinion of the work group I had the privilege of chairing that in these times, and specifically in the War Against Poverty, the arts must exert a public influence as never before, and this influence must be demonstrated and made visible through research. Many scientists have been artists. There is no reason, therefore, that artists should not adopt scientific attitudes and measures appropriate to their needs which do not undermine their artistic integrity.

Specifically, it was felt that research in the arts for the disadvantaged should be designed according to the population to be served. No two locales are identical, and the problems of the poor vary from community to community. It would be desirable, though, that this research have national implications, and possess components transferable between areas.

The work group proposed that both demonstration and basic-research projects be initiated, with the emphasis on demonstrations that:

a. Increased art services;

b. Provided more informal art operations;

c. Supported more settlement houses and similar operations;

d. Sent more artists into the communities;

e. Were innovative and flexible; and

f. Involved children and others actively, rather than as passive observers.

It was further felt that these proposals should have tight evaluative components and should be administered by a body of leaders within communities who interact (i. e., artists, educators, assessors).

For government-sponsored research, guidelines (and there will be more about this later) should have written into them possibilities for modification over and above the 10 percent now allocated, in order to achieve the kind of flexibility needed in programs concerned with the arts.

With regard to evaluation by government bureaus, those who review proposals in the arts (particularly for the disadvantaged) should reflect a multi-disciplinary background. Reviewers representing the "establishment" point of view should not be chosen. They should reflect institutional and disciplinary variation and certainly not their institutions as such. Evaluators must be given the opportunity for face-to-face deliberation. They should be able to visit institutions to talk to the people submitting proposals and requesting funds. These evaluators should help to make proposals better rather than rejecting them out of hand. This would introduce a qualified "yes" into the possibility of assistance. Some proposals might be made excellent if modified with the assistance of outside personnel. It would also promote more systematic and imaginative program-development.

Fortunately, poor art and art for the poor do not mean the same thing. Unfortunately, too much of the former may pass for the latter, and the War on Poverty may become an attack upon the soul unless new administrative forms are established -- not institutionalized, not restricted by existing institutions, though they might take advantage of the resources afforded through institutional involvement. Some of the leaders in these programs would probably come from the world of art because of their unique qualities, but would not necessarily be limited as to administrative position.

Some models proposed by the work group included these essentially neighborhood-based arts centers:

1. Community Arts Center

A center of this type would be an action-oriented research enterprise with experts from art, education, mental health, representatives of the community, and assessors to do research themselves and to become available as consultants to the rest of the community. They would be charged to do such things as:

a. Survey the community to identify its needs;

b. Develop priorities for research and action;

c. Obtain the maximum involvement of people;

d. Locate artists and recruit them to live in the community;

e. Obtain technical assistance from other appropriate sources;

f. Make contact with existing cultural organizations and institutions both to avoid duplication and to give support to those who have already succeeded within the community.

If funded by Federal sources these centers should have certain decision-making powers built into them. They should not have to go through the Federal bureaucracy if revisions in policy need to be made to improve the original plan.

2. Consortium

Another model, or "agency for dialogue," could exist between the schools and the professions and community. This could be a

Other Recommendations

The work group had additional recommendations.

For disseminating the results of art programs for the disadvantaged, an on-going planning and policy strategy board composed of people that are generating and innovative themselves (not necessarily by type of institution) should be established. This is essential in order to develop a political constituency to assist in funding and public relations, as well as in the dissemination of results and information.

The group also recommended that the Office of Education or the Federal Council on the Arts and Humanities should establish:

a. A planning committee, with one charge, to design guidelines for programs in arts for the disadvantaged;

b. Another planning committee to bring together funding agencies to describe the results of the above.

(It should be noted that the group felt further committees should know at least that there is an intention to proceed further with funding in the arts on the part of the Federal Council on the Arts and Humanities and/or The Office of Education or Office of Economic Opportunity.)

Further study should also be accomplished on a) evaluating art projects having to do with the arts and the disadvantaged with implications for future proposals, and b) the pre- and post-study of existing arts programs in disadvantaged neighborhoods investigating such factors as school image, environmental change, family attitudes.

Funding

It is hoped that new combinations of funding can be achieved. Therefore research proposals should be constructed with many facets in order to elicit the support of private

PRECEDING PAGE MISSING — 247+248

foundations, individuals, and other government agencies. The group strongly endorsed the continuation of existing funding programs in current legislation having to do with the arts. Indeed, they should be extended.

Actually, what we say here matters not half so much as what we say and do after we leave. Postponement and delay in implementing action based arts programs for the disadvantaged must give way to *priority* and *deeds*. The frustration of the American spirit represented by the failure of the War on Poverty to come to grips with these most basic human needs must now be overcome.

FINAL EVALUATION

Melvin Tumin

Because this evaluation will necessarily abstract, analyze, and summarize what went on at the conference, it cannot hope to capture either the spirit and verve which pervaded the proceedings from the earliest moments, or the full and rich intellectual and artistic content of the many and diverse contributions.

This is meant as more than a token acknowledgement of those aspects of the conference which will necessarily be bypassed in these pages. For it is beyond dispute that for most who were present, everything said and done took on an added significance from the living context, and from the special qualities and styles of the individual conferees. While the failure to reproduce these here may be seen as a real loss, there is some compensation in the fact that one does not have to rely on this or any other post-conference report to keep vividly alive the essence of what was memorable. Nor can this or any other evaluation significantly alter what was directly experienced during the conference itself.

These may seem like strange words from one who has been asked to serve as a "dispassionate" observer and reporter. In those roles, one ought not to be captured by events. Yet, if confession is good for the soul, it is even better for the mind, especially when the observer's bias is an important determinant of the adequacy and accuracy of the observations.

I am obliged but happy to confess, therefore, that if I had a very great commitment to the purposes of the conference at its outset, I was even more deeply involved with its promises and prospects at the conclusion. These involvements will have to be taken into account both by those who think I have found too much to applaud, as well as by those who think I have been too critical.

At the final session of the seminar, Dr. Tumin delivered an interim, informal evaluation which he has since expanded for inclusion in this report.

At the same time, I feel it important to insist that I was rarely so caught up in the conference transactions as to fail to observe them, at least partly, from an outsider's point of view. While such detachment and dual role-playing may be a shortcoming in one who is a full-fledged participant, it is advantageous for the observer-evaluator insofar as it permits him to grasp the interplay of diverse private passions and purposes without being distracted by the obligation to react to any of them.

Evaluation involves a number of component tasks which can be characterized by the central questions they seek to answer, as follows:

1. What were the intentions and purposes of the enterprise?
2. By what means were the ends to be achieved?
3. Of the intended ends, goals, or purposes, which were achieved?
4. What prevented the accomplishment of other intentions?
5. What was accomplished that was not intended at the outset?
6. What is the net balance of "success" vs. "failure?"
7. What new problems were perceived, and what new goals were generated?
8. Since the conference was seen as but one phase in a sequence of possible future events and actions, aimed at long-range goals, how much movement toward those long-range goals was achieved, and how much remains yet to be done?
9. What do we now know, that we did not know before, about how to move toward those long-range goals?

All of these are formidable questions. To answer them would be difficult enough in a situation where the inputs and outcomes are both measurable in standardized units and capable of being added and subtracted by traditional arithmetics. The difficulty is obviously increased many fold, however, when, as in this case, the inputs and outcomes are barely at the stage of clear conceptualization.

Yet the charge given me is to evaluate the extent to which the conference did contribute to greater clarity and understanding of the ways in which the arts could be effectively utilized to serve the social and educational needs of the disadvantaged. In the absence of standard measures and acceptable arithmetics, one must rely on impressions, but compensate for probable errors by stating the grounds for one's impressions and by being provisional in one's estimates of success and failure. It should be understood at the outset, then, that however positively enthusiastic or forcefully negative certain statements may appear in subsequent pages of this evaluation, everything said here must be taken as an estimate, intended as provisional and hypothetical, rather than as definitive or demonstrated.

If, moreover, the conferees who read this report find it too full of understatement, I hope it will be recognized that this is not simply a stylistic preference, but rather a deliberate attempt to profit from critical self-examination rather than to luxuriate, unprofitably, in uncritical self-congratulation.

I. Intentions and Purposes

A distinction must be made at the outset between the official and common purposes to which the conference was dedicated, on the one hand, and the private wishes, interests, and desires that individual conferees brought with them. The latter may include the former -- one hopes there would be at least some overlap -- but often diverge, as will any private passion from the context of public policy in which it seeks expression. Regarding the individual interests, and the net gain or loss to these, each conferee will have to make his private reckoning. We can deal here only with what was publicly acceptable and debatable.

The public and shared intentions were stated in various memoranda and documents circulated prior to the meetings. And though from time to time various participants sought to widen or narrow the range of the conference targets, by and large the proceedings were aimed straight, and thus one can make fair estimates of how close to the mark we came. The pre-conference formulations, provided by Toby Rose and Junius Eddy, prepared the groundwork for the summary statement of intentions presented as the opening paper by Kathryn Bloom. She said in that paper:

> Broadly speaking, we confidently expect that, from this conference, will come the information, ideas, suggestions, and recommendations that are essential for the development of a coordinated and comprehensive program of research and demonstration in this field. Further, we believe that your participation in these discussions can help us to identify accurately what the current "state of the art" actually is in the field of investigation, and to assess the full dimensions of the research areas involved, including what appear to be the major unanswered questions.

The uses to which conference deliberations and recommendations might be put are also specified for us. These include:

> a systematic analysis of existing projects and programs. . . which seem to hold the best promise for significant outcomes. One purpose would be to determine whether or not any of the ongoing projects in the arts are immediately susceptible to productive new research. . . At the same time, it is also possible that a number of entirely new research projects will need to be directed toward fundamental problems which have not previously been explored, or which are not susceptible to productive research through existing programs and projects.

Ultimately, Miss Bloom reminds us, it "may be desirable to establish major demonstration projects. . . which would test the most significant research findings in the model programs. Provided their value to the educational process can be adequately *demonstrated, these high-visibility demonstration programs could become key factors in the development of significant educational change."* (My emphasis, M. T.)

The touchstone by which the worth of the conference outcome is to be measured is stated explicitly in the emphasized words above: "value to the educational process." This was the note Miss Bloom sounded at the opening of her talk when she stated explicitly that "our thinking will be directed toward the practical possibilities for bringing the full potentials of the creative arts to bear directly on one of the nation's most crucial and challenging problem areas: the education of the disadvantaged. This means that for the most part, we shall be dealing here with the arts in a distinctly functional and utilitarian sense."

However much practicing artists might find cause for umbrage in the explicit concern with the functional values of art, no such quarrel need develop, nor did any. For it was clear from the outset that one of the major utilities of art to which all those present subscribed was that normally stated in the motto, "Art for art's sake," an elliptical mode of insisting that art *per se* is a humanly valuable effort, and that the emotional and intellectual experiences generated by a close relationship to a work of art, as creator or spectator, are among the most important if not the central functions of art experience.

We would, however, be distorting the conference purposes if we did not explicitly recognize that the intention was to seek a set of impacts for art beyond those implied in the doctrine of art for the sake of art alone. Clearly, the question being asked was whether in fact the arts could have a wide range of seminal and multiplier utilities. Could one expect that through art experiences of various kinds there could be generated a series of developments in the emotional and intellectual lives of those exposed which would be significant and valuable for them outside the context of art experiences? Could learning be improved? Could self-image be enhanced? And how? These were really the questions we were being asked.

On these questions the conferees had little hesitation in expressing strong convictions. If one took as proven the collective claims of the conferees on behalf of what art can presumably do for man, then all problems of mortal and eternal salvation could be said to have been solved once and for all. But if, instead, we treat the more modest of these various claims as hunches and intuitions, some of which might be translated into testable hypotheses, then we have a program of research with enormously interesting and exciting possibilities for application. As I saw the suggestions regarding the multiplier utilities of art, they argued that through art (without now saying which versions of art experience one means) one might hope that any and all persons, and of course, therefore, the so-called "disadvantaged" children as well, might achieve the following:

1. Have a continuing experience of accomplishment and achievement and thus acquire the confidence necessary to developing a sense of worthiness;

2. Develop greater refinements of tastes and sensibilities, and increase thereby the ability to discriminate the fine and true from the coarse and false;

3. Increase the number of areas and qualities of pleasures to which one can be open and responsive;

4. Acquire an understanding of the importance of work and of discipline for the achievement of desired ends in life;

5. Learn how to deal with and to manage hostile environments, through acquiring new understandings, attitudes, and skills;

6. Increase the capacity to manage effectively other verbal and symbolic non-art tasks, such as are implied in the "three r's;"

7. Augment and strengthen general mental and emotional health and provide, thereby, for more adequate personality growth and role-functioning;

8. Make possible various new kinds of reciprocally invigorating interpersonal relationships;

9. Increase the likelihood of easier and more mutually desirable intergroup relationships, within and across national boundaries, thus providing for more productive and liveable societies.

As one scans this list of nine possible outcomes of art experiences, several things become clear. First, there is considerable overlap, and the list could therefore probably be shortened without significant loss. Second, there is much interdependence among the various items. Third, because of this interdependence, any program designed to achieve the range of these ends could probably start with any one of the items and be led, by the logic of interdependence, in turn to all the others. Fourth, none can be said, *a priori*, to be more important or basic than the others. Each enjoys a theoretically equal priority, and it would require the introduction of other values to justify assigning higher priority to one item over another.

II. The "Politics" of Art

One must pause at this point to ask whether these goals or intentions or "utilities" of art, as stated, are subject to test in the sense that one could devise instruments of one kind or another that would enable us to measure with some accuracy whether the utility had been achieved. We all now fully recognize the necessity of coming out of the clouds on these matters. However deeply and unshakeably those in the arts may *feel* about the likelihood of these utilities being achieved through art experience, there is a world of unbelievers, men without faith, who are either indifferent to the claims of art, hostile to them, or disbelieving of them. For a number of purposes important to art, at least some of these who are indifferent must come to care, some who disbelieve must come to share some faith, and some of those who are hostile must be persuaded to be more friendly.

For while art may try to be pristine and divorced from any political context, the fact of the matter is that art, like any other human activity, functions in a context of other human activities and interests. Public support for art activity is indispensable to the continuity of that activity. In that sense, art is always politically involved, even though in its own internal dynamics it may be apolitical. This distinction between the internal qualities of the art activity and the external context within which such activity takes place is crucial to those concerned with the welfare of art. Careful attention to the "politics" of art is indispensable to any effort that seeks to maximize the utility of art. For if art is to have any utility at all, it must be engaged in, and its utilities are naturally likely to multiply in proportion to the number of people so engaged.

The point of these remarks about the political context in which art takes place is that some effective way must be found in which to test out the claims of art. It is not enough to proclaim them. Evidence must be brought to bear that will be persuasive. It may very well be, indeed, that because of the peculiar situation of art in our culture, somewhat akin to that of a minority group, the claims of art to social importance and significance will have to be demonstrated far more rigorously and persuasively than the claims of other disciplines, such as mathematics, about which there is a standard widespread assumption that its utility is not to be doubted, even though the evidence in support of this claim is not per se any more persuasive than that which exists for art.

If it proves to be the case that art will have to prove its case twice over, it will be the better part of wisdom to take this special requirement into account and deal with it effectively, however much we may properly resent this extra burden. Proof of the case for art must be sought with special vigor and dedication, because the Philistines cannot be dismissed as inconsequential, however much they may be seen as men of little faith and less mind.

Nor will it do to insist that the utilities of art cannot be demonstrated effectively by the same kinds of means that are used to demonstrate the utilities of other disciplines, such as mathematics or language instruction. Those who make this claim are wont to take the "specialness" of art experience as meaning that these experiences are beyond analysis and evaluation. They sometimes insist that one can't talk of these matters, but rather one has to "live" them or experience them to know them.

But this posture is self-defeating. For many of those who sit in the most powerful seats of judgment regarding the support of the arts are least likely and able to expose themselves meaningfully to the range of experiences which artists feel are self-proving and self-commending. These remarks are especially pertinent with regard to the place given to art in the curriculum of our elementary and secondary schools, where, after a few years of benign toleration of dabbling of small children in finger paints, art is relegated to the status of "frill," and room is found for art experiences for the students only if and when virtually everything else, not excluding driver training and such other "core curriculum" subjects have been given their "due." More often than not, there is nothing left over for art, except if one calls the occasional demand for posters and signs to advertise school bake sales "art experience."

By contrast, the subjects deemed important and part of the core of the curriculum are assigned highest priorities of budget, teacher ability, space, student schedule, school recognition, and school-counselor emphasis. If one asks why these subjects are considered central and important to the learning and development of the school children, one is given vague and indecisive, yet firmly asserted, responses regarding the multiple utilities of these disciplines. Claims are made that experience in these "core" subjects is the sine qua non of all other types of learning and experience. These claims, let it be said, are just as rash and undemonstrable in the forms usually offered, as those made on behalf of art. But the critical difference is that tradition is solidly behind the claims of these other disciplines and not at all behind, indeed quite resistant to, the claims of art.

So, art must prove its case, or continue to remain inconsequential and tangential to the mainstream of experiences to which our school children and, of course, our adult populations will be exposed.

The path toward such "proving" is precisely that which has been taken thus far, by psychometricians and other specialists in educational testing, with regard to the so-called cognitive skills or domains. In effect, what has been done is rather simple, however difficult it has proven to do it. Certain very limited portions of cognitive functioning -- such as the capacity to distinguish similarities and differences in appearances and in statements, or to see common general principles in a series of particular statements -- have been selected out as of prime interest, and rather simple tests have been devised to test for their presence or absence in school children at various grade levels.

With such "standard" tests, children and schools presumably can be compared on the extent to which educational goals have been reached. Of course, it is not often remembered that the only educational goal that is tested in these tests is the ability to achieve on these tests. What else by way of human development is implicated or suggested by these test-abilities is hard to say. But most people assume that something significant and basic has been achieved when skillful handling of these tests is mastered.

Now, the very same steps can be taken with regard to the claims for art, if those concerned are willing to focus narrowly on very limited portions of the range of "results" they claim art can achieve in children. For with precisely the same effort and intelligence that tests have been devised for the cognitive domain, tests can also be constructed for the arts or the affective domain in general. There is no magic about these matters. It is all quite within the reach of existing intelligence and imagination, so long as it is recognized that in testing for results in the art or affective domain, the same kind of very selective choosing of very limited portions of the total domain will define the contents of the tests to be constructed.

There is still one crucial difference, however. The art or affective "outcomes" one might choose to test are not themselves widely accepted, viewed as valuable, or, if they are considered abstractly valuable, they aren't considered concretely worth spending money and time on. Thus, assent will be given to the abstract importance of "creativity" as part of the child's perspective on self and on life, but concrete room for expressing concern for creativity will be provided only if and when the "hard" subjects have been mastered, e. g., numbers and letters.

I am suggesting that even if and when tests were developed that could show the extent to which certain "art-engendered" outcomes had been achieved through art experiences, those concerned with the arts and their utilities would still find themselves having to "prove" that the utilities were worth working toward in the first place.

To establish and secure widespread acceptance of the worthiness of those utilities is therefore the first item on the agenda of everyone who cares about art experiences and the things they claim are engendered by these experiences. That is why it is important, in any enterprise that the conference may have inspired, to set aside some portion of the budget of time, money, and personnel to evaluation of the enterprise -- rigorous evaluation, following the most advanced canons of methodological procedure.

I feel it crucial to stress this feature, especially since one of the dominant inclinations at the conference was to recommend major new expenditures for bringing art experiences of various kinds to larger numbers of people. While no one would seriously argue with the worthiness of this inclination, I believe that unless such enterprises are also used to test for, evaluate, and disseminate evidence regarding the utility of the enterprise, especially to the powerful non-believers, the situation of art ten years hence is likely to be as parlous, if not more so, than today. The "society" of arts will find itself in the same position as other "underdeveloped societies" which, upon being given fresh infusions of capital and resources with which to develop, consume all the capital in their enthusiasm for gratifications which they have long awaited. Once these gratifications are momentarily achieved, they end, and there are no capital resources on which to build for the future. In the U. S. A. today, art may be thought of as an underdeveloped social and cultural segment. If now the Federal Government and other powerful agencies are willing to extend "aid" in the form of basic capital investment heretofore never granted the arts, much of that capital had better be used as much for strengthening the foundations of the claims of art as for the provision of art experiences, or else there will be only short-lived enjoyment for a few, and then nothing.

The nine "utilities" of art on which most conferees had agreed constitute a list of possible "outcomes." They need very much sharper specification if their presence is to be tested for with any degree of rigor and persuasiveness. As now put, they are not in testable form. But they are not far away from that form, and some concerted application of energy and intelligence could result in their becoming susceptible to metric analysis with precisely the same specificity and precision as now characterize the tests for achievement in the cognitive domain.

III. The Means to the Ends

The conferees were most productive, in view of this need for evaluation, in the extent to which they were willing to offer rather bold hypotheses concerning the ways or means by which these utilities of art might be achieved. These include:

1. Developing the desired traits of heart and mind in children by exposing them during art experiences, to emulatable and supportive persons who exemplify the characteristics desired;

2. Enabling children, through creating their own products, to get a sense of mastery over materials and a more general sense of mastery over the world of objects around them;

3. Giving children a continuous experience of success in problem-solving and thus contributing significantly to the favorableness of their self-images and a new confidence in their abilities to handle unknown tasks of the future;

4. Providing children with a direct experience of the importance and relevance of self-help and the undesirable consequences of its opposite, and doing so not through lecturing or moralizing, but through immediate and personal experience of the consequences of each;

5. Enabling children through experimentation with their own capacities and abilities to discover what, in fact, they can do, and what they might, through further effort, come to be able to do;

6. Enabling children, especially those from demeaned and underprivileged groups, to acquire a sense of the dignity and worthiness of their group-identity through immersion in the history of their groups and its products and the discovery, in the process, of all those praiseworthy features normally overlooked, unmentioned, or ignored in the generally unfavorable image of the group that is current;

7. Enabling children, by diverse experience, to discover the value of channeling their energies and feelings into productive and satisfying channels, as against the wasteful and self-destroying exploitations of these energies and feelings in attacks against others and self, or in sheer lethargy;

8. Making it possible for children to come to self-affirmation and to a sense of their unique worthiness and hence, to positive self-identities, through experiencing the uniqueness and worthy consequence of their own perceptions and creations;

9. Helping children, especially those from demeaned and denigrated groups to understand what it is about their social structure and culture that compels others to demean and denigrate them, and what it is therefore that is corrupt in the system and worthy of challenge and change, and how best to challenge those corrupt elements and change them. The assumption here is that one becomes armored against depreciatory attacks on one's self-image by understanding the forces that "compel" others, for their own reasons, to attack him. Thus armored, the minority-group "victim" is more able to avoid the usual victimization process by which he otherwise comes to accept the majority image of him as true and reliable and thereby to fall into self-hatred.

The "means" toward the ends having been stated, we now possess two sets of hypotheses: one that advances certain general claims regarding the probable yield of art experiences, and the other that indicates the kinds of experiences in the world of art that may yield the utilities desired.

Note that these are called hypotheses. They are not presented as established claims or demonstrated facts about process, however deeply various conferees felt them to be true. Note too, that the "means" are not really specific, in the sense that they do not prescribe particular kinds of experiences, such as with various kinds of materials or plays or dances. Rather, they speak of much more general categories of experience.

It is crucial, however, that specific versions of these more general categories be designed and programed, if any of the hypotheses about means are to be tested. For example, what specific ways are proposed to give children a continuing experience of success in problem-solving? Or, what kinds of experimentation with their own capacities and abilities are proposed?

Without such specification, we remain at the level of vagueness that has characterized claim and counterclaim in art enterprises in the past.

It is important now to note that these hypotheses, especially those referring to means, also constitute a catalogue of possible demonstration programs in art experiences and a provisional list of criteria by which the worthiness of existing and proposed projects in art can be evaluated. That is, they provide guidance to the Office of Education, as we were asked to do, regarding what demonstration programs seem most worthy of trial, and by what criteria might existing and future proposals be judged for their relevance. In effect, the conferees have said that the demonstration programs to be tried ought to focus on one or more of the hypothetical utilities and the means thereto; and present or future proposals for support from the Office ought to be judged at least partly by the extent to which they implement the program of research implied in the hypotheses.

IV. Structures, Locales, and Agents

Even among persons who share common enthusiasms for certain desired outcomes, disagreement characteristically arises regarding the format, place, and personnel that ought to be involved in the attempts to implement the programs. This conference was no exception to this general rule. For there were disagreements, some of them sharp, but none disabling, as to how things ought to get started. Some conferees favored community-based consortia of arts, with visible and separate identities, distinguished and apart from other community-based efforts. Advocates of this type of structure felt it important, for instance, that an arts consortium should not be simply a dependent part of an all-purpose community house or center.

Still others emphasized the prime importance of starting with teacher-training programs in the arts, as the multiplier with the highest possible yield, in terms of the number of children likely to be affected during the careers of teachers so trained.

Still others were inclined to encourage the Office of Education and any other possible sponsors to support a range of smaller-scale group ventures in theatre, painting, crafts, and design.

Many conferees also felt that it was crucial that any program for the support of the arts should explicitly reserve substantial sums for the sustenance of individual artists, including provisions for their housing, studios, incomes, and the like.

Other conferees emphasized the need for continuing and enlarging the connections and interdependence of researchers and evaluators with "action personnel" (artists or teachers, for example), so that the testing of the worthiness of the outcome, as discussed earlier in the section on the politics of art, might be implemented.

Finally, there was continuing mention of the need for some form of national clearinghouse for the arts, and for a variety of other governmental structures, national and local, that might make it possible to give direction to the scattered efforts throughout the country, keep diverse publics informed of each other's works, and provide continuing consultation to the Office and other agencies regarding the development of their programs.

What was particularly gratifying about this list of possible ways in which programs ought to be launched was the extent to which partisans of the various proposals were able to see the merits of programs other than those they advocated and to agree that plurality of approaches was more likely to yield benefits to all concerned.

This endorsement of a plurality of structures, locales, and agents for art enterprises and experiences in effect says to the Office of Education that a leading group of knowledgeable, skilled, and concerned persons in the world of art feel that there are many ways, rather than just one way, in which to venture forth; that no one way is now demonstrably superior to any other; that great flexibility in programming can, and should, be maintained, within the general guidelines earlier listed; that the particular suitability of each of these diverse possible programs can be specified; and that a great number of different kinds of persons, including, but not confined to, artists, teachers, and community workers, are relevant to the total effort.

To these pluralisms of locales, structures, and agents must be added one other not made explicit at the conference, but crucial, at least implicitly, to the general line of thought. I refer here to the plurality of conceptions of "art" and "art experience." No one insisted that only creative art production, or only exposure to art history, or only active participation in plays, might legitimately be included in the art experiences whose utilities were assessed. Rather, all kinds of experiences, implying various visions of art itself, were applauded: art as product; art as experience; art as process; and art as relationships with self and others and society.

One can only applaud the freedom from parochialism which this generous pluralism suggests and makes possible in future programming. For there is likely to be only a minimum danger, given this generous viewpoint, that programs will uselessly be criticized on the grounds that they are not "really" art programs. The desired flexibility is made eminently more possible with the pluralistic vision of art experience than could be expected given a more narrow, parochial view.

V. On the Uniqueness of Art

The conferees addressed themselves to the question of whether they felt that art experiences were uniquely capable of yielding the desired utilities and whether only persons concerned and talented in the arts could serve as efficient agents. On these issues there was indecision and divided opinion. While some felt strongly that only persons professionally involved in art work could be effective in art programs, it was recognized that the mere fact that a person designates himself as an artist, or as a teacher, does not render him an artist or a teacher.

This then raises questions of certification. But that way lie some very knotty problems, which it is not now appropriate to face. What seems both agreeable and workable at this stage of thinking is to specify the kinds of persons characterized by certain qualities of interest, dedication, and skill, and to recognize that some of the qualities most needed to conduct a community arts enterprise may be found in persons not even remotely "professional artist," either by calling or dedication. Numerous kinds of persons, therefore, are likely to be relevant and efficient if they possess the desired qualities of mind and heart.

At the same time, many at the conference argued that there has developed a degree of specialization and concentration of the desired qualities in persons involved in the world of art more than can be found in the personnel connected with other fields. The search for relevant personnel for future art programs is therefore likely to turn up a higher proportion of the right kind of people if it looks first to the world of practicing artists and art educators.

Though we leave the question of the uniqueness of art _per se_ unanswered, we move in the direction of some clarification of this question by focusing on the issue of the location of relevant and fitting persons to guide and conduct future programs. Probably all would have agreed that while they doubt that the sought-for utilities could be expected from non-art-oriented enterprises, they would be pleased beyond cavil if many of the ends they deeply desire could also be accomplished by persons outside the art field. For then the aims of art experience, as promulgated at the conference, would have much greater chances of being realized.

Perhaps more than anything else, the notion of art as utilitarian for other ends, such as those of personal and social development, contributed to the broadened viewpoint of who and what might be relevant to these ends. Had the conference focused rigidly on the values of art in and of itself, no such broad sweep of vision of programs and personnel could have emerged. If, therefore, the conferees found themselves in the uncomfortable position of being forced to ask "art, what for?", instead of resting content on the claimed inherent value of art _per se_, they also took proper and considerable comfort out of the broader reach of importance ascribed to art in the process of examining its multiplier utilities. By this broadening of the range of significance, art becomes transformed into a far more compelling and commanding effort than it could possibly hope to be in its traditionally more narrow view of itself.

VI. How Were the Conference Ends Achieved

If one can say that the main charges given to the conference by the organizers and the sponsors were met and satisfied -- and we believe the conferees can properly make that claim -- the interesting question arises as to what made it possible for the conference to have been that relatively successful. How was it that such diverse people, from every region of the United States, from very different backgrounds and professional relationships to art and education, could manage, in a brief time, to specify a set of guidelines of desired ends, possible means, and the range of alternative structures, locales, and agents that might be relevant? How, too, could they, in the process, have designated a set of probably most important demonstration programs and specify a set of criteria by which proposals in the future might be evaluated?

As one tries to evaluate what it was that made these outcomes possible, it becomes clear that crucial from the outset was a common core of dedication and faith in the importance of the enterprise. Given this common core, and given the intense and continuing interaction over more than three days, the chances of some significant yield were fashioned. But much more was needed. For the conference could have foundered on parochial debates, engaging intransigeant persons in exchanging rigidly held preconceptions.

Instead, for reasons still not clear, from the very outset there was a generosity exhibited by virtually all present with regard to the possible relevance of diverging viewpoints. These viewpoints had little difficulty in being expressed. They were most often received not simply with polite but with concerned and eager attentiveness.

Perhaps most important of all, those who were "managing" the conference, those, in short, with nominal power to steer and direct the course of the conference, never used their power to restrict diversity or to hamper full expression. Instead, power was used to facilitate the widest possible exposition and demonstration of the many viewpoints and interests brought to the conference. In this regard, one can say that the management of the conference was exemplary of how power can be well used for the common benefit of all concerned. Here power did not corrupt, not even relatively.

There was, too, a dialectic of reciprocity. For as conferees came quickly to realize that they could find audience and sympathetic listening to their viewpoints, they found themselves agreeably more comfortable about making room and time and attention-span for other viewpoints, and they felt compelled in turn, given the briefness of time in which all the diversity was to receive exposition, to express their own points in ways that would be most sensible, easy to comprehend, and even interesting and attractive to persons who came with very different predilections.

The artists did not abuse the art educators nor receive abuse in return. The analytical-minded people did not sneer at the fuzziness of the creative persons, nor get sneered at in turn for their narrow dedication and interest. Somehow, an atmosphere of good will and mutual concern was engendered at the outset and was kept at a fairly high level throughout the conference. If sometimes conferees appeared to be indulging each other, more often it was the case they were as genuinely interested in listening to others as in being heard themselves. Very early in the conference, whatever personal and private needs there were to give a special tone to the conference and shape its direction were put aside in preference for the more lively and genial atmosphere of genuine interchange.

The energizing interaction of the formal sessions was reinforced and supported by the continuing informal interaction outside the formal sessions. During these informal relationships, suspicions, hostilities, peeves, and sharp queries could be aired and disposed of before they could take hold long enough to make trouble in the formal sessions themselves. Probably, too, private gripe sessions among coteries of like-minded persons served, as is expectable, the function of catharsis, and enabled persons to be far more agreeable and cooperative as conferees than might otherwise have been possible.

The formal sessions also served the crucial function of allowing all conferees to see vivid demonstrations of various kinds of arts programs that might be developed on larger scales. With these examples of the divergent range of possibilities in front of them, the conferees were thus enabled to make more sensible and informed judgments regarding the probable promise of different approaches.

At the same time, everybody profited from these demonstration sessions by becoming better informed about the realistic limits and obstacles on development of the arts in the actual world in which these plans have to be worked out. Many of us came to know almost at first hand, and often for the first time, what kind of difficulties some of our fondest dreams might encounter as we sought to implement them in concrete situations.

VII. What Was Not Accomplished

It is harder to focus relevantly on what was not accomplished than on what was, in fact, achieved. We all soon became aware of an enormous range of unsolved problems. How, for instance, might liaison between the art educators and the practicing artists be most effectively developed and sustained? Given the typical working conditions of an artist, and given the typical administrative and time schedules of an average public school, how can more art be effectively integrated into the curriculum? This is but a sample of the problems which came up, and which remained substantially unsolved. There are so many more of these, they cannot suffer being listed, though the records of the conference bear adequate specifications of them.

What can be done here, however, is to indicate certain basic unresolved issues of policy that kept asserting themselves as hubs of fundamental disagreement among various of the conferees. Principal among these were the following:

1. Toward what political orientation to the going society, and toward what kind of life-orientation in general do we wish to try to bring underprivileged children? Is it best to teach them to disdain society as it exists and to opt for a new kind of social order? Or, alternatively, is it better to teach them skills and attitudes relevant to the management of the society as it is, and useful in finding their way into acceptable places within the social order?

2. Given the plurality of ethnic and racial groups, especially among the minority groups of this society, and especially among the underprivileged children, are we concerned with

maintaining separate ethnic and racial identities, and attempting to achieve a kind of pluralism of distinct groups? Is that way possible, even if desirable? Or is it, alternatively, desirable to seek a reduction in ethnic distinctness and visibility and thus possibly reduce the barriers to first class citizenship?

3. If many of the desired goals or utilities could be accomplished without specific and explicit reference to or use of the arts, are we willing to move ahead in that way? Would that be good enough, even if it should mean an increasing irrelevance, or a maintenance of the sad status quo, of the arts? Or is it deceptive to hope that what is here claimed for the arts can be accomplished outside and without the arts?

4. Perhaps most crucial of all was the question of the utilizability of the schools as the main locus of efforts to make the arts meaningful in American life. There were many conferees who had serious doubts that the institutionalized and entrenched obstacles to lively art experiences in the schools could be overcome. They doubted the suitability of the schools strongly enough to recommend programs to be conducted almost exclusively outside the schools. By contrast, there were others who felt that unless the schools could be meaningfully incorporated into the programs for art development, there would be little chance of reaching any significant segment of the American public. They pointed to the fact that millions of school children are available as possible publics for new art experiences. They believed that much more could be done with today's children than with today's adults. They felt the art-educator cadres were eminently able and willing to be of great assistance. The contrast between these two viewpoints was sharp and illuminating. It was not that of art educators vs. artist, but rather that of confidence and hope

in the schools as the primary locale of art efforts, as against doubts and despair regarding the public schools. This conflict of views remains perhaps the single most important obstacle to united effort in future programming.

VIII. The Serendipity Quotient

Many of the accomplishments of the conference listed on the foregoing pages were not envisioned at the outset nor planned for. In addition to those already mentioned, a number of other serendipitous yields bear citation. Without any implied order of importance, they include:

1. Many people who had never talked with each other before -- as representatives of different viewpoints -- learned they could talk peacefully and productively, and learned how to do so. They developed considerably greater respect for each other's relevance to the whole field of enterprises and experiences.

2. For many of the conferees, there was an important and valuable exposure to the range of skills, interests, and utility of various kinds of persons about whom they had not even known before the conference. Nearly everyone felt strengthened in his own dedication by coming to know about the much wider range of people with skill, interest, and common concern whom they had not known of before the conference.

3. There was useful clarification of the points of most intense disagreement and a corollary discovery of the futility and meaninglessness of other kinds of disagreements.

4. No one could have gone home from the conference without being more aware than before how relatively limited his own "share" of the total field was, and how limited his own range of competence and skills for the enormous range of tasks that face us. At the same time, each one was able to find, perhaps more surely than

ever before, how significant he could be, with his own concerns and skills, for a portion of those total tasks.

5. There emerged the possibility of a common language for discourse and communication among heretofore non-communicating segments of the whole group concerned with the arts. We learned, for instance, how anathematic certain of our pet words and formulations could prove to others, and discovered what kinds of levels of interpretation and perception our own words were likely to be met with. In the same process, we discovered the importance of sympathy, affection, and trust if true communication is to be achieved. We discovered, too, that various of us use very different criteria of evidence to establish our positions -- that some are content with types of personal and intuitionist evidence that others would never trust, and vice versa. We came to appreciate, therefore, the kinds of new exchanges of communication we shall have to fashion in the future if we are to be able to agree on when something has been established as true, and when it remains doubtful.

6. Perhaps as significant as any of these serendipitous gains was the fact that the skills, interests, and viewpoints of a very wide range of people were brought forcefully to the attention of key people situated in command posts relevant to the arts, such as the directors of the National Endowments. Their generous willingness to make themselves available to the conference for a morning or more was handsomely rewarded by the rich repository of talent and concern they discovered among the conferees, many of whom they had never known about before, and might never have learned about, had they not come to the conference.

These are not trivial gains. Indeed, given the fact that many of the conferees had suffered through numerous other conferences before this one, it could hardly be expected that such substantial positive achievements could be anticipated. The positive serendipity quotient of this conference must therefore be judged as having been very high indeed.

IX. Some Guideposts and Warning Signs

It is perhaps now opportune for this evaluator to make some comments of his own, without any claim to conference consensus. I should like to suggest certain guideposts and warning signs that seemed to me to emerge from the days of discussion, demonstration, and exchange.

In some circles, the program for the development of the arts and for the involvement of many more people in significant relationship with the arts is seen as a program that should focus on "discovering talent." One understands that by this is meant the search for that small minority in any population who have the highest natural talents for creating or interpreting valuable art products, i. e., composers or painters or musicians and the like.

Now obviously we are all best off when the culture functions to make it possible for all such "high" talent as is present in the population to be discovered, trained, and brought to the proper publics for appreciation and enjoyment.

But one must not substitute this emphasis on the "high arts" for something quite different, namely, that kind of program which starts with the assumption that there is valuable talent in all people, though admittedly at various levels of skill and "excellence." When, therefore, we talk of making it possible for all school children to have continuing, meaningful art experiences, we are not talking of the search for rare talent. Rather, we are talking of the quest for those arrangements of the school schedule and resources that would make it possible for every child to have continuing and significant involvement in some form of enterprise out of which the utilities of art, as earlier postulated, might emerge. Most of these children will never go on to be distinguished painters, composers, or dancers, or sculptors. But all of them, if our programs are any good, should have their lives altered for the better by their involvement in some form of "art activity."

It is only too evident that in a democratic school system we cannot find any justification for preferring one child's talents to another's. If the equality of education and of children means anything, at the least it means that we value all children equally, and hence value their talents equally, however different these talents may be. It is only in quite different contexts that we may properly sort out for special training those children or adults whose performances suggest that they may have certain very special talents that require very special cultivation and training if they are to become the significant creators of art products they seem to have the promise of becoming.

If talent is present in all children, even though at diverse levels, surely creativity is present in all children. It is not the case, as some badly put it, that some children can be creative and others cannot. Some children may be able to be taught to create fine art products quite more effectively than other children. But this is very different from saying that only some children have creativity within them. If creativity means the capacity to be open to experience, to welcome novelty, to be intrigued by discovery, to exercise new dimensions of imaginative thought and feeling, then there is every good reason to believe that creativity is present in all children at birth, as a facet of their development, and that under favorable circumstances the entire population could be dynamically creative. Let us not therefore conduct a talent search for our "creative" children. We will all be better off if we ask what can we do to enable the creative potential in every child to be brought to realization.

We have long been plagued, especially in the public school, with the notion that it is possible, through various tests and measurements, to get an accurate reading on every child's biological or hereditary potentials, and thus to align the curriculum to that child's "innate" level of capacity. But now we know, more surely than we have ever known before, that we have no way of establishing the limits of possible development of any child. Even on the assumption that at any given time the distribution of intellectual capacity or artistic productive capacity is distributed unequally in a population, we still have no way of fixing the upper limits of possible productivity and achievement of a child. Every new thing learned by a child alters his level of potential for future tasks. In short, ability is a constantly emerging and evolving potential, rather than something able to be measured and fixed at a given point in life.

It stands to reason that since no environment is every maximally favorable to any child, every child can be and become something more than he is at the moment he is being observed. Our dedication to equality in the schools commands, I believe, that we act always as though there was much more in a child than had yet been tapped and brought to life.

To take any other approach is to lock children into preconceived categories or ability groups and then to engage in the process of confirming our present ideas by treating children in accordance with these categorical assignments. We thus ensure that "smart" children will remain smart, and "dumb" children will remain dumb. Our experience with homogeneous ability groupings in American schools demonstrates this likelihood to us with great firmness. It would be disastrous, even more in the field of arts, perhaps, than in so-called cognitive areas, to assume that we could ever know with any worthy certainty what children can and cannot do. When we treat children as open possibilities, we always discover that they have many more potentialities than we had ever assumed.

Throughout the conference, an emphasis on the importance of learning the virtue of hard work was iterated and reiterated over and over. Partly this was because many conferees had in mind the image of the alienated and de-motivated underprivileged child who, through lack of cultural stimulation and support, falls prey to the widespread cult of apathy or the "quick buck" and comes to denigrate the significance of work and effort.

Now, we may feel it important that a greater sense of the importance of effort and work needs to be made meaningful to those children who seem most alienated from the idea and who may therefore early adopt a "welfare dependence" outlook on life. But can we not also agree that an orientation to pleasure and fun is as important as the orientation to work and discipline?

If the "unsuccessful" people of our culture seem inadequate in their work orientation, is it not equally true that the "successful" people are just as inadequate in their "pleasure" or "play" orientation? I am not referring to the kind of random self-destructive pleasure in which some of our young men and women indulge. I am referring to genuine pleasure, where one's own worth and talents are at stake, and are being utilized and involved in ways that bring home the lesson of the value of such pleasure in ways that can never be obliterated, once learned. We shall sell the arts short, and we shall surely fail in our effort to make life more significant and valuable for heretofore deprived children, if we make the path to self-redemption one that is dominantly characterized by the necessity for hard work and discipline, with little or no pleasure and play in sight.

Because of the sad days on which art in the schools has fallen, as defined by the inadequacy of time, resources, and personnel assigned to art experiences, there was an understandable tendency among some of the conferees to pose art vs. the schools or art vs. education in general. A corollary tendency was to intimate that somehow underprivileged or culturally deprived children are a breed apart, and that something unique must be discovered by way of educational process that would make it possible for such children to learn and become what other more privileged and less deprived children manage to learn and become.

Both of these tendencies seem to me to be distortions of the proper perspective. I think it can be shown that the most consummately adequate model of proper education in all subjects is the model of the well-run art classroom: where each one's talents are relevant; where every child's products are valued equally insofar as they emanate from equally worthy children; where children are not pitched competitively against each other, nor denigrated or honored for "higher achievements;" where each proceeds in accordance with his own unique tempo of development; and where at any given moment the child moves on to tasks for which he is ready, as defined by his own prior work and achievements. If all classrooms were run with these as the main guidelines to the relationships of students, curriculum, and teachers, it seems indubitable that our schools would rise to heights of excellence they have no chance of achieving under the present average mode of conduct. I am saying in effect that the model of the art experience is the model of the true educational experience in all subjects.

So, too, the deprived child is a child who has been deprived, and not a queer stranger in the land of normal children. Whatever it is that makes it possible for other children to want to succeed at their tasks, to desire to give their best, to feel good about realizing their inner potentials, these are the very same ingredients which will work for so-called deprived children. For it is precisely in these regards that deprived children are deprived. It follows, then, that the task is to find modes by which we can end these basic deprivations.

Moreover, all children are deprived in one way or another. No child's capacities are ever fully utilized, not alone because realization of potentials always involves choice from among many potentials, but because no environment is ever perfectly integrated to a given child's unique needs and capacities. The enrichment of every child in the schools is at stake in our programs, however much we properly are specially concerned with a special contingent of children who have been systematically deprived to much greater extents than other children. Programs of cultural enrichment that are good for such children are good for all children, though they may be more and less relevant and needed at any given moment by one as against another group of children. And so far as art experiences are concerned, it would not be very far off the mark to argue that only the smallest handful of children in our schools are ever exposed and involved in such experiences to the extent that their growing personalities and developing visions could use profitably and pleasurably.

Finally, a word about the frequent references to the "Establishment" throughout the conference. I sensed a fundamental ambivalence here. On the one hand, there was widespread and profound distrust of the good intentions, intelligence, and morality of many who are powerful in the field of arts and education. On the other hand, there was a continuing suggestion that these very same Establishment people ought to be expected to respond with great enthusiasm to the programs discussed at the conference. Some of the conferees were quite explicit about their belief that it was the bounden duty and obligation of the established order to support and sustain the artists in their midst.

By its very nature it seems to me art is continuously critical of existing social arrangements and human relationships. It is continuously asking how can existing social and cultural forms be altered to create a more adequate and enriched conception and vision of man and society. In sum, art, if it is any good, almost always questions and challenges the legitimacy of existing institutions and their leaders.

If this is so, then how can one realistically expect the Establishment to welcome the prospect of wider and more ample support of the arts which by their nature are subversive of the going social order? No society can be expected to support people and forces who systematically work toward the fundamental alteration of the society. By what lights then, do artists feel it proper to ask the Establishment to endorse these bright new developmental programs in the arts?

What strikes me as extraordinary is the extent to which, for a variety of reasons, this normally anti-art society has given official sanction to the spending of fairly respectable sums of money on art development. This was hardly to be expected. Ten years ago, one would have been thought quite demented if he had predicted the kind of budget that may soon be available for art programs in American educational experiences.

It may well be, of course, that the "powers that be" don't know how subversive art can be. Or, it may prove that through art experiences, persons who would otherwise attack and rampage against the society may find ways in which to give valuable, positive, productive expression to their dissent. In either event, the existing levels of support for the arts -- however relatively small compared to other enterprises -- are relatively much greater than one had ever dreamed possible. One need not be grateful for these new budgets, at the same time that one may be properly glad that at least some new chances for the spread of significant art experiences are now available.

X. What Remains To Be Done

If the conference has been successful -- as I believe it has been to an eminent and noteworthy degree -- part of that success lies in having defined an agenda of tasks to be undertaken for the future. In that sense, our success is defined by what we have been able to state needs yet to be done. At least some of the most general categories of such tasks can be specified.

1. We need, first and above all, to persist in our common dedication to the importance and meaning of the arts in human experience and to seek to make that meaning an

important and central part of the lives of very many more people. That common dedication that brought us all here is the sine qua non of any future effectiveness we may have. We owe it to ourselves and to the cause to persist in this dedication.

2. Urgent, too, is the need to create and to inspire others to create thoughtful and important plans and programs for art development, so that the Office of Education, the National Endowments, and other agencies and foundtions who might support such efforts will have a wealth of good things from which to choose. If persons in the arts have been right to complain of a dearth of interest and support in the past, and if now such interest and support seem to be available to a greater degree than ever before, it behooves the people from the art world to cooperate to the fullest by being thoughtful and imaginative in the programs they devise for possible implementation.

   It is to be fervently hoped, too, that the same generous spirit manifested toward the plurality and diversity of ideas that came forth from representatives of the different portions of the art world during the conference will be manifested when selections of some out of the many proposals for art programs are made. Surely some must fall by the wayside or be deferred out of preference for others. But if those others are among the many diverse kinds of things that we have tended here to agree are worthy, then there can be little cause for complaint, however much one or another individual may be personally disappointed. This pluralistic generosity will be one of the most publically significant ways in which members of the art world can support each other.

3. Urgent, too, is the need for those persons whose tastes and sensibilities have been

cultivated and refined, and who have come to know what real involvement in the arts can do for people, to remember that much of the adult public is seriously culturally deprived in these regards; that it has had little or no chance to come to appreciate what art experiences can bring; that its usual attitudes of Philistinism and its usual "bad taste" and "vulgar preferences" represent its form of cultural deprivation. No good will come from attacking these attitudes of indifference and hostility to art, if that attack is not accompanied by a positive program to "bring the message" to underprivileged adults and find ways in which they too can come to relate to art more meaningfully. The same prescriptions or models of how to deal with underprivileged and deprived children can be applied, in their appropriate locales and times, to the re-education of deprived adults, so that they too can come more fully to share with persons already involved the experiences and their resulting values and utilities.

4. We need, crucially, vitally, above all, to find out, through sound research and evaluation, how good our ideas are, and, when and if their worth is established, how can they best be disseminated and multiplied so as to reach the widest possible audience. In this concern for wide dissemination, we must remember that our single best and perhaps only significant chance at really widespread influence lies in converting the schools into environments and organizations conducive and amicable to the idea that arts are vital to the life of children, adults, and societies.

Finally, it remains to extend sincere and deeply meant appreciation to those who organized and hosted this conference. I have deliberately chosen not to mention names of any contributors to the conference during the course of this evaluation. Literally everyone present contributed importantly to the total outcome. But it would be remiss of us collectively if we did not single out for special mention the extraordinary thoughtfulness, imagination, and effort expended by Toby Rose and Junius Eddy in conceiving, constructing, and conducting this conference. Backed to the hilt by Kathryn Bloom, and aided and abetted by Harlan Hoffa, Toby and Junius made it possible, as I have rarely seen it done before, to hold a conference that had purpose, direction, order, creativity, and worthy outcome. Everyone responsible for this opportunity is to be applauded for their courage and conviction. Such a conference would have been impossible ten years ago. There is here signified, I believe, a great change in the attitude toward the arts and toward the importance of doing something significant for underprivileged children, through the arts, if possible. Those who normally tend to be pessimistic about the possibilities of significant social change might well take much heart from these visible changes in the past decade. It is quite clear that faith and skill and intelligence and organization can and will change the world.

SUMMARY

H. T. Rose

In a very real sense the final paper of this seminar will have to be written many years hence. The charge to the participants was to explore, discuss and analyze the theoretical evidence on the role of the arts in the education of the disadvantaged, to examine the demonstration programs, and to recommend further programs for development and research. To a great extent this charge was met but the achievements of the conference can only be judged from the programs which will be mounted and evaluated and from the success achieved in convincing the "doubting Thomases" of the fundamental role of the arts in stimulating people to further growth.

The commissioned papers provided a basis for discussion from many points of view. Dr. Roman and Dr. Ianni considered the arts as agents for social change from different angles, one as a psychologist and artist, the other as an anthropologist. Mr. Bosworth, talking from his experience as director of a settlement house, discussed the problem of the arts in neighborhood life and the ways he has found to make the arts a part of this life. Dr. Eisner reported on the need for sound action research in the arts to reinforce the beliefs and scattered evidence which tend to show the role the arts can play in meeting educational and social needs. Mr. Euell gave the participants an overall view of the place the arts hold (or don't hold) in the present anti-poverty programs and suggested some ways in which the arts can serve as a "passport for entry into a fuller and richer life." Dr. Bright examined the possibilities of applying some of the new educational technology to the education of the disadvantaged and in so doing emphasized the importance of "the teacher behind the machine." Mr. Cohen's paper on the stimulation of learning in the lower one-third of a college freshman class and especially the report on his later work with delinquent boys provided still another challenge to thinking about the arts.

The reports on current programs and the three special programs reported in the artists' panel provided demonstration projects which, having proved successful in one area, might well be tried in other areas to demonstrate their general applicability.

Despite the great diversity of the experience of the participants, several strong beliefs underlay all the discussion. One was the need of the disadvantaged and, in fact, of all people for a sense of personal identity and of self-worth. Examples were cited to demonstrate that the arts can provide the first experience of positive accomplishment in the disadvantaged and from this can develop the sense of personal pride leading to other accomplishments. Another constantly restated belief was that the arts are important for all children -- not only for those thought of as "disadvantaged" or contrarily as "talented." The use of the arts in a functional sense is not a search for talent, but a means to enable the creativity in each person to reach its fullest potential.

In report after report, in discussion after discussion, the importance of disseminating the reports of this seminar and of demonstration programs was emphasized. Unless school boards and superintendents accept the arts as an integral part of a curriculum and use them in this functional sense, only a small proportion of the children, especially among the disadvantaged, will benefit. Some of the means suggested to meet these demands are reported in the papers by the chairmen of the Work Groups, and in the final evaluation by Dr. Tumin.

The final session of the seminar was a morning panel on Federal Resources. Here we were indeed fortunate to draw upon the knowledge and experience of Harold Howe II, U. S. Commissioner of Education, Roger Stevens, Chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts, Barnaby Keeney, Chaiman of the National Endowment for the Humanities and representing the Office of Economic Opportunity, Phillip Schrager. From the informal presentations of the four official representatives and from the lively question period which followed, emerged a clear picture of the sources available for support of arts programs and again emphasis was placed on the difficulty of convincing reluctant school administrators of the value of such programs.

Throughout this report, one factor has not been mentioned, namely the spirit which permeated the four days of meetings. As one participant phrased it -- "Somehow the right people were in the right room, and they remained there despite major differences in points of view." No one left unchanged -- each was affected in some way by his contact with the others and I believe that each one left with renewed belief and reinforced confidence -- confidence that others of like mind and spirit were traveling the same road.

APPENDIXES

REPORTS ON CURRENT PROJECTS

During the conference, three evenings were devoted to actual projects that are using (or plan to use) the arts to help the disadvantaged. On each evening, two or three participants gave brief presentations on projects in which they were involved, and then discussed them with the audience.

In the section that follows, these current projects are covered in various ways. Where the speakers had prepared texts, these are included in condensed form. Most of the participants in these sessions, however, spoke informally, and some relied chiefly on visual presentations. Therefore, the accounts included here do not reproduce the actual reports at Gaithersburg; they were culled from descriptive material on the projects supplied by the participants or written especially for use in this report.

Readers desiring further information on the projects discussed in this section will find full names and addresses of the artists or other representatives in the list of conference participants (Section D and E).

THEATER IN THE STREET

Pat Reynolds

Theater in the Street was conceived as a means of taking good theater to people who rarely leave their neighborhoods where they feel secure and can most easily absorb new experiences in their lives.

Beginning in 1962 with only one performance of Lorca's The Shoemaker's Prodigious Wife, Theater in the Street pioneered in the following year with both mobile theater and Spanish theater by'taking Chekhov's The Bear, in English, and Casona's The Fable of the Well-Kept Secret, in Spanish, to the New York City streets. Since then such varied fare as Moliere's The Doctor In Spite of Himself and Mary Kennedy's Ching-Ling and the Magic Peach have delighted audiences throughout the city in neighborhoods generally characterized as ghettos or slums. Cooperation with the University of Puerto Rico permitted presentation of a Spanish version of Chekhov's The Marriage Proposal adapted to a Puerto Rican setting and called Declaracion Amorosa. The English-speaking audiences liked it, too.

In five years, Theater in the Street has increased the number of its performances each year and improved their quality through a corps of actors working under the direction of Phoebe Brand and Patricia Reynolds, the founders of the group, who have developed a distinctive ensemble style. Repeat-visits to locations in successive years suggest that the audiences, too, improve in their understanding and appreciation of the theatrical experience.

A word on mechanics: The first performance in 1962 was played in the street itself while the audience sat on chairs, boxes, house steps, or hung out of windows. Audience and actors were well intermingled by the finale. The following year a tiny platform was constructed and sound equipment rented. While the actors still had to shout, it was better. The physical stage has become a folding platform constructed to lower from an 18' truck bed which can be driven to location and made ready for use in less than half an hour by six workers. More experience and more money will undoubtedly produce further refinements such as invisible sound equipment and better dressing rooms -- the actors now change in a truck!

The method of working has also developed. Theater in the Street works cooperatively with neighborhood groups, tenant associations, block associations, groups who agree to obtain Police or Parks Department permits for use of street or park areas. They arrange for chairs and for ushers to distribute programs, and some adult supervision for children.

Financial support has been growing from a first brave grant of $750 from the Aaron E. Norman Fund to present support from The Rockefeller Foundation and the New York State Council on the Arts, among others. And the gathering recognition of Theater in the Street's way to reach all groups within the city has come from the growing number of groups wishing to adopt its program in such diverse places as Boston and the Virgin Islands.

Theater in the Street is incorporated and tax-exempt as an educational organization, and it is our fondest hope that it may grow into a year 'round program, partly spent visiting other cities helping with the growth of similar programs, but primarily in developing a sound repertory of street theater. A play-writing contest was incorporated in last summer's program with the thought that surely our audiences have something to say back to us. And when funds are sufficient, we hope to have what would probably have to be called a "writer in transit" rather than "in residence" to develop new materials appropriate to strolling players and to our audiences. With its integrated and bilingual cast, Theater in the Street has been able to bridge differences in language, ethnic background, daily living and working conditions, and proved that Moliere or Chekhov or Goldoni have as much to say on West 101st Street or in Bedford-Stuyvesant as to any other audience.

THE FREE SOUTHERN THEATER

Represented at the Conference by Thomas Dent

The Free Southern Theater was organized in 1964 to play without charge for black communities of the South. Its home base is in New Orleans, Louisiana. The idea of a touring company was developed by Gilbert Moses and John O'Neal while members of a drama workshop at Tougaloo College in Jackson, Mississippi.

The FST will begin its fifth season on March 1, 1967, in New Orleans. The company is supported by individual contributions, theatrical benefits, and foundation grants. In 1967, FST received a grant of $63, 000 from the Rockefeller Foundation (for three years) and $5, 000 from the New York Foundation, but needs additional contributions to extend its program into a twelve-month season.

During its four seasons the FST has performed Waiting for Godot by Beckett, In White America by Duberman, Purlie Victorious by Davis, The Rifles of Senora Carrar and Does Man Help Man? by Brecht, Roots by Moses, I Speak of Africa by Plomer, and An Evening of Improvisational Theater and An Evening of Afro-American and African Poetry compiled by the FST company. During 1967 the company will present four shows, including a new poetry evening compiled by the actors and one or two new plays.

Articles about the work of FST have appeared in Playbill, Harper's, The Christian Science Monitor, The National Guardian, Cavalier, The New York Times, The Herald-Tribune, The New York Post, The Village Voice, Freedomways, Liberator, Nation, Commentary, Tulane Drama Review, Negro Digest, and Life.

The FST has firmly established itself as a touring theater in black communities of the Deep South. The company has concentrated its efforts in Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia. During four months in 1966, the company appeared in Atlanta, Georgia; Selma and Tuskegee, Alabama; Hattiesburg, Laurel, McComb, Grenada (during the violence over school desegregation), Natchez, and Kilmichael, Mississippi; and Jonesboro, Bogalousa, Scotlandville, and New Orleans, Louisiana.

In 1966 the FST rented a former supermarket in the Desire Project area of New Orleans, and converted it into a small theater with space for offices. Workshops were offered in acting, creative writing, and Afro-American literature -- programs not otherwise available to black youth in New Orleans. Scheduling was arranged so that the company would return periodically throughout the summer to perform in New Orleans. Four talented youths were hired as apprentices and paid a summer salary. The FST has committed itself to become a community theater in New Orleans with equal emphasis on performances and workshops. Approximately 50 percent of the professional company appearances will be at the home theater in New Orleans. If sufficient funding is available, the workshop program will continue throughout the year.

The FST is and must continue to be an instrument for the training and development of black artists: actors, technicians, and writers. It is essential, if we are to develop a viable theater, that our artists work free of eroding commercial pressures and have a direct outlet to our people. In this way, FST can re-establish theater as a means of communication, its elemental function. The FST is committed to new black writers (like Gilbert Moses, whose Roots was performed in 1966), new forms which speak more directly to our people about the essential problems of our lives, new ideas forged through the traditional forms of Afro-American culture.

By reducing theater to its elements, the FST has become and must remain radical. The FST is and must be a political theater. Not political in the sense of topical or prosaic limitations, but political as theater which looks always outward upon racial oppression in America as an evil which the black artist must play a prime role in attacking. FST does not believe in art divorced from the essential concerns of black people: justice, full equality, re-education, self-analysis, strength. Like any viable art, FST must maintain a critical stance toward the values of American society. The FST exists for its audience. Its primary function is to communicate with its audience, and to plant its seeds so well that members of that audience will, in time, become the FST.

PROJECT PEP

Represented at the Conference by Esther M. Swanker

Project PEP is a program for 150 disadvantaged eighth- and ninth-grade New York State youngsters to be conducted during the summer of 1967 at Skidmore College, Saratoga Springs, New York. The program will consist mainly of enrichment activities. These include instrumental and general music, ethnic, modern, and ballet dance instruction, creative dramatic and literary activities, science (nature walks and talks), fine arts and crafts, and a recreational program. The program will be closely related to Skidmore College and the Saratoga Performing Arts Center.

All children will receive instruction in orchestral instruments and general music, and in modern, ethnic, and ballet dance. They will participate in dramatic and literary workshops, fine-arts work, group discussions, and planned social experiences. Individual and group guidance activities will be part of the program.

Personnel for the program will include college and secondary-school teachers and guidance counselors. The program plans to recruit college students from disadvantaged backgrounds to serve as counselors and assistant teachers.

Many disadvantaged youngsters are unsuccessful in the usual school programs. Poor self-image language handicaps, and lack of motivation are contributing factors. Crowded classrooms, inexperienced teachers, and high teacher and pupil mobility develop negative conditioning to schooling. There is frequently no suitable program to excite the potential of the underachiever. Many of these children are the dropouts of tomorrow.

A residential program on a college campus with an amalgam of creative opportunities, social living, and success experiences is a new learning situation. Because of its different emphases and format, this project may reverse negative attitudes toward learning and instill hope for the future. "Upward Bound" programs exist on a number of college campuses. They are, for the most part, limited to tenth and eleventh grade students.

Project PEP seeks to redirect attitudes toward education, provide opportunities to develop better self-images, and improve motivation and self-understanding. Skills, knowledge, and attitudes will be evaluated during the summer program. Follow-up will include questionnaires to local schools to determine any change in pupil attitude, improvement in academic achievement, and development of better self-image.

YOUTH CONCERTS OF NEW MEXICO

Nina Perera Collier

It is a privilege to be invited to tell this conference about the work we are doing in the Southwest for school children in economically and culturally deprived areas. We call our organization Youth Concerts of New Mexico, Inc. The agency is an educational nonprofit performing-arts service which connects the professional artist with the school and the community in New Mexico. It selects, trains, and books artistic units, supervising the programs and coordinating the services with the school curriculum.

The movement, started six years ago, was at first patterned after the Young Audiences school-concert program. A group of citizens joined together to sponsor performances of local and national professional soloists and ensembles in northern New Mexico. The town of Espanola, the center of a cluster of small rural communities, provided the testing ground for the experiment. Here a population predominantly Spanish American is largely composed of families of limited income. Youth Concerts sought to fill a desperate need since the school curriculum completely neglected the arts, especially at the elementary-school level. The children had lost contact with their own rich Spanish heritage of music and dance. Many had never attended a live performance of any kind.

Our committee soon realized that new approaches were needed, and the Young Audiences formula was adapted to fit the requirements of the area. In most schools there was no PTA organization. No wealthy patrons could foot the costs. The school officials suggested that the pupils be charged a nominal fee of fifteen cents for admission. Indigent students were given "scholarships." The excellence of the programs quickly won over the students, teachers, and parents. The plan was proved feasible and was enthusiastically supported.

From this beginning the Youth Concerts movement has grown steadily. Remarkably fine local artists were found. National talent added other facets. Eventually -- besides chamber-music ensembles and soloists -- folk singing, dance, pantomime, andpuppets were presented. We stressed the

Spanish traditional arts and sought performers among the younger artists who spoke Spanish and could identify with the listeners.

Each year the number of programs and audiences has increased. We have now over 300 schools in the movement and are performing for many thousands of children in school districts throughout the state. Colleges also participate by using our talent for workshops. Often, early-evening presentations are attended by the adults of the communities, along with the high-school students.

At first we were not able to reach the smaller schools in the poorest communities, but our program has now been extended to localities where the need is especially great, through the availability of Federal resources for education (for example, Title I funds of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965). A grant from the New Mexico Art Commission has enabled us to provide a demonstration and "seeding" program to introduce new school districts to the possibilities. In general, the trend is toward a greater integration of our services with the New Mexico school system as a whole, by means of close cooperation between our organization and the office of the State Fine Arts Director, Rollie Heltman.

A significant development in our Youth Centers program has recently been initiated by the Music Department of the University of New Mexico. A two-year study under the direction of Dr. Donald E. Michel is evaluating our music program, to determine its effect on students in the Espanola Valley and Albuquerque areas.

A COOPERATIVE PROJECT TO DEVELOP URBAN ARTS RESOURCES

by William M. Birenbaum

Had I made a presentation at Gaithersburg,* it would have been in two parts: an outline of general ideas descriptive of the problems which interest me, and a brief description of the Brooklyn Academy of Music/Long Island University relationship as it is unfolding.

I. General

Thought about the arts too often begins from the trap of opposities, such as: Is government participation in the arts good or bad? These false alternatives lead away from the realities.

Realities:

A. Urbanization is the salient phenomenon of our day for the arts. Artistic production and creation, as well as patronage and audience, are more and more generated from city environments.

B. Within the cities patronage and programing are essentially in the hands of an archaic power structure. The great art-production institutions (academies, universities, museums, art centers, etc.) by and large are out of touch with the present-day problems, tastes, life styles, and finally the spiritual needs of the great majority of urban communities and neighborhoods.

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* Mr. Birenbaum, who chaired many of the conference sessions, was also scheduled to give a current-project report Thursday evening. However, in deference to the lateness of the hour and his weary colleagues, he gracefully declined.

There is a decided trend among patrons or potential patrons of the arts toward the reduction of risk-taking by those who possess the most profound potential for patronage. Corporate and industrial patronage, in the name of public relations, plays it safe. The great new institutional patrons of the arts -- the colleges, universities, and school systems -- are essentially consumers of the tried and true.

Three groups of problems, growing from the urban context, are especially interesting:

A. There is a widening gap between the desire to engage broad participation in artistic activity and the education required to make that participation possible or meaningful. Here the mass media seem to be less, rather than more, useful and in some respects actually are harmful.

B. The mobilization of urban intellectual and artistic talent is confused and frustrated by (a) a massive ignorance of where the talent is and what it is, and (b) rigidities in the organization and conduct of the great institutions which preside over the arts in the city. Illustrative Assertions: (1) No one in New York has the vaguest notion of what talent is represented in the field of theater by the thirty-plus colleges and universities in the five boroughs, nor what their plans or resources are in this field; (2) the outstanding scholars and teachers in art and music appreciation and history are not affiliated with institutions; (3) the academic requirements for the use of talent are inapplicable to the mobilization of artistic talent, being geared essentially to teaching rather than creating.

C. The traditional staging grounds for artistic events -- schools, campuses, museums, etc. -- do not realize their full potential for impact and contact. A fresh look needs to be taken at the focal points of urban life -- the public areas of housing developments, parks, plazas and streets, hospitals, churches, and those places and points in neighborhoods and communities where people naturally congregate.

In summary, the city itself should be taken seriously as a staging ground for the arts and related educational activities. This requires the restoration of the spirit of risk-taking in the patronage of the arts, new ways through which the artistic bureaucracies fulfill the responsibilities imposed by their monopolies of treasure, talent, and prestige.

II. The Brooklyn Academy of Music and Long Island University

Proposition: A treaty between the two institutions allowing for a close and continuing use of their respective resources together in the development, staging, and appreciation of artistic activities -- music, dance, theater, creative writing, and the visual arts -- along these lines:

A. The establishment of three residential professional companies based on both institutions: one in theater, one in dance, and one in opera or some music idiom. Professionals to be used, in addition to performance, for educational purposes in Bedford-Stuyvesant and the university; graduate-level programs for professional artists in the university; performance in the community and at the academy; workshop and teaching facilities at the university; mobile units.

B. Program for the education of teachers in the various arts through teacher-education division of the university.

C. Creation of a center for the study and encouragement of criticism in the arts.

D. Workshops for the cultivation of creative talents of teenagers and the young of the ghetto communities.

E. Extensive adult-education programs mounted in the communities; concentration upon education of the young in the arts and the related education of their parents.

F. Integration of these activities with the numerous other on-going educational and research activities of the university concentrated in particular ghetto communities; i. e., youth and recreation/and the arts; assistance to small businessmen/and the arts; the use of the store-front church networks for the training of community leadership/and the arts. In other words, the exploration of a total community approach in which the arts play a coordinate and natural role rather than occupy a separate, pasted-on, marginal place.

COMMUNICATION COURSE, NORTH CAROLINA ADVANCEMENT SCHOOL

Represented at the Conference by Ted Katz

Recognizing that underachievement had become a major educational problem in North Carolina, Governor Terry Sanford's administration founded the North Carolina Advancement School in 1964 to develop -- from daily classroom work with a statewide sample of eighth-grade boys of good ability but poor academic performance -- courses and methods which teachers could use to deal with thousands of similar students in the public schools. With grants from the Carnegie Corporation, the U. S. Office of Education, and the state, and under the auspices of the Learning Institute of North Carolina -- at that time headed by Harold Howe, II -- the school began building a program which now includes the Communication course.

Among those who came to the school in its early days was Ted Katz, a young teacher whose ten years' experience "working with children of many types in every conceivable situation" had brought him "to respect them and to try to share with them in their growth."

"Although the education offered by the street, the home, the friend, and the enemy can be vital and profound," Katz has written, "it is often warped or lopsided. Sometimes 'lessons' are learned by a child unready or unable to cope with or even understand a problem. I believe that 'life' should be brought into the classroom early, not years later -- and often far too late -- as a college sociology or philosophy course. The questions come early enough and are often solved by the child alone, immaturely and with results that scar for life."

With their knowledge of children as a guide, and with two years of trial and error, the Communication teachers have built a repertory of works to which students seldom fail to respond. The works of art used to "bring life into the classroom" are chosen primarily for the excitement they generate in the student, for only if art speaks to his present needs and interests will he come to see it as a source of satisfaction, as a personal resource.

In the Communication course, transformations take place:

> "When I first came up here I couldn't write a good-sized paragraph but now it's no problem to write 15 or 20 pages. I actually enjoy writing and love to read. I just can't stop writing. Whenever I get mad or any other emotional feelings I just set down and put my feelings on paper. This class has helped me very much."

And the transformations extend beyond the classroom:

> "I've learned the way to treat others even if not in my race."
>
> "I have learned the reason why I should be proud of what I am. There is a lot of people in the world who would like to have what I have. To use my brain. To express myself in writing stories. To use my sense of smell, hear, touch and see."
>
> "You have been the only teacher who has made me realize the truth about learning and now I think I will do my work and try to go to college although I don't have much money. I don't have any parents, I live with the welfare, but I have two sisters. But I hardly ever get to see them. I am sure going to miss the class."

The course uses works of both the popular and fine arts -- including short stories, poetry, films, music, photography, dance, and painting -- to involve students in considering problems relevant to their own lives. To simply introduce loyalty, fear, prejudice, or parental conflict as topics for discussion would evoke little response from the school's typical student, an apathetic underachiever. But films such as "White Mane" and "111th Street," or the music and dance of "West Side Story," or a painting by Andrew Wyeth, bring students forward on their seats, hands straining upward for recognition. Each work is studied not only for its content but for technique as well, as an example of a form of communication. Some arts, such as film, are presented in a straight-forward manner, but others must be approached subtly to avoid frightening or boring the student with experiences for which he is not ready.

From the first day the classroom's walls are covered with art prints and photographed portraits, to which the students gradually grow accustomed. Eventually the pictures catch their interest; they begin really to see them, to look more closely, to wonder. And when they finally venture a question, the teacher knows they are ripe to learn. Perhaps they are only fascinated with the strange man who cut off his ear; perhaps it's a beautiful woman. It is only important that they have experienced the first pleasurable encounter which will lead on to greater depth of experience.

A similar approach is taken with music, with dance, and with writing. The method is inductive, proceeding from an immediate experience which the class has in common -- a painting, story, film -- to generalizations they make about that experience. Class discussion is perhaps the primary agent of learning in the course. In dialogue, students discover themselves.

The teacher's job is to create an atmosphere of warmth and openness, to provoke discussion, to question and to listen. Although the Communication course is above all else an approach to teaching, an Advancement School instructor was nonetheless correct in writing, "As the students explore, discuss, and express new ideas and feelings, the teacher should avoid teaching." His purpose, in other words, is not to tell the child anything, but to encourage and help the child to discover and think for himself.

As part of the Advancement School's newly-initiated field testing program, supported by a grant from the Carnegie Corporation, thirty-four teachers in public schools scattered across North Carolina are already using the Communication course. In trying the course for themselves, with the lesson plans as guides, teachers indicate that they are beginning to understand the course, its purposes, and its methods.

New teachers have made the following comments:

"I'll never teach any other way again."

"The boy who says he hates to read ordered two books for himself and wants the school to order some more for him."

"This can't be beat -- no limitations to what you can do. You feel freedom to try anything -- go so many ways. Other teachers who have observed feel the same -- envious."

"The follow-up discussion went in a different direction than I had anticipated. We had already talked some about the tendency of many of us to find a scapegoat and to pre-judge people, and I had thought we'd return to this theme, but no -- somehow we wound up talking about why we have wars."

"Wild class as far as jumping from subject to subject, but I feel that we are on a good kick! Good questions. Honest responses. We're not a very tactful class at times, but there seems to be an honest give-and-take in search of answers. We are integrated."

"Many students had written pages and pages and really wanted to have their papers read in class. They also did a good job of explaining why this writing assignment was fun. We tried to decide why our reaction to the record was stronger than it was to pantomime. Interesting conclusions were drawn and everyone had something to say."

"Sent off carrier pigeon with message to Danville, Virginia. Everybody wrote notes to send and the class picked the best one. (Hope nobody unknown to us reads it.)"

JOINED FOR THE ARTS IN WATTS, INC.

Represented at the Conference by Noah Purifoy

Joined for the Arts in Watts, Inc., is a group of individuals and organizations devoted to promoting creative activity and to stimulating a deeper awareness of life and self through the medium of the arts. The group incorporated as a non-profit organization in 1966.

The goal of the group is to construct a gallery with workshops for the creative arts within the Watts community. The group's program is designed to provide bridges by which people and their ideas about becoming better can move and connect. The present program has three phases:

1. A Festival of the Arts is held annually during Easter Week as a commemorative to the late Simon Rodia, builder of the Watts Towers. The festival involves the total community and features junk and traditional art expressions by student and professional artists, as well as professional and amateur performances of music, dance, and drama. A special category this year will be the culinary arts. The 1967 festival, March 19-25, opens daily at noon, closes at 10 P. M., and is planned for the Markham Junior High School, 104th St. and Compton Ave.

2. "66 Signs of Neon" is an exhibit of the plastic and graphic arts done by professional artists. The title of the exhibit derives from the heat-molded metals found in the wake of the Watts fires of 1965. Two artists saw the rubble as something other than debris, and recruited others to interpret the 1965 happenings through the media of collage, assemblage, or paintings. More than one million people have viewed "66" since its premiere at the festival last year. Seven sponsors in as many months have presented the show at galleries and universities in northern and southern California. "66" will highlight the 1967 festival

and be viewed in the all-purpose room at Markham. The exhibit embodies the concept inherent in the 37-year-old Watts Towers. Thrusting 100 feet into the air and defying destruction, that work of broken bottles, scrap iron, and pieces of tile makes a simple statement: junk used to shape something new demonstrates one way human lives can be shaped into something worthwhile.

3. Fund raising is the least emphasized phase of Joined's program. Without subsidy from any public agency or institution, the organization accepts volunteer contributions of cash or services.

THE WATTS TOWERS ART CENTER

Represented at the Conference by Lucille Krasne

Simon Rodia, a man alone, without education or any aid from others, dedicated thirty-three years of his life to the creation of a group of fantastic structures known as the Watts Towers. These unique towers have since earned worldwide acclaim as an outstanding artistic achievement, and have been declared a cultural monument by the Cultural Heritage Board of Los Angeles.

A group of dedicated people saved the towers from demolition by the City of Los Angeles in 1959. Out of this group a committee was formed which became a nonprofit cultural and educational organization in 1961. This organization saw as its responsibilities not only the maintenance and preservation of the towers themselves, but the development of a community art center which could at once fulfill a crying need in the community and act as a living, growing memorial to Rodia.

An interest-free loan and donations of fifty cents apiece at the gate financed the first free art classes in 1961. Close to 20,000 visitors come to the towers each year from all over the world. With the exception of a few special gifts, these gate-donations continue to be the major source of revenue.

For five years the committee offered these free art classes to the children of Watts. They were held out of doors in the shadow of the towers and directed by dedicated art instructors from a local museum's progressive child-art program. In 1965, the committee acquired a house down the street from the towers and opened the Watts Towers Art Center. This little house, its exterior distinguished by hand-painted flowers, has been filled with the activities of small children, young people, neighbors, and friends ever since -- all carried on with the very limited resources at the disposal of the committee. The center sponsors the outstanding improvisational teenage Watts Towers Theater Workshop and the adjacent Watts Towers Teen-Post (one of the few that is culturally-oriented).

The committee is convinced that the time has come to realize its cultural goals on a larger scale. More ways of cultivating the untapped creativity in the Negro community must be found. The committee is convinced that experiments with non-verbal methods of education have been highly effective. Therefore, the committee is including the following in their master plan for a community center:

1. The performing arts (drama, dance, music, motion pictures, etc.)
2. The producing arts (painting, sculpture, ceramics, weaving, jewelry, plastics, etc.)
3. The service arts (design, typography, photography, graphics, etc.)

The most important educational idea of these workshops is that a person can become more useful to himself and his community by the total personality enrichment that results from involvement and fulfillment on a creative level.

The committee has started a fund-raising campaign to build a new art center, which is so sorely needed and eagerly anticipated by the local community. This center is designed to accommodate not only the above-mentioned expansion program, but also to serve as a general meeting place and activities center.

ABSTRACT OF BASIC AND APPLIED RESEARCH PROJECT: DEVELOPING AND EVALUATING ART CURRICULA SPECIFICALLY DESIGNED FOR DISADVANTAGED YOUTH

Ronald H. Silverman, California State College at Los Angeles

Objectives

To assess the role art education can play in improving the learning and productive potential of disadvantaged youth by:

1. Testing the hypothesis that combining the disadvantaged learner's demonstrated affinity for the concrete with specifically planned art experiences will result in improving several perceptual-cognitive and attitudinal behaviors needed to benefit from formal schooling.

2. Testing the hypothesis that a specifically structured junior high school art program, wherein a limited number of media are investigated over a prolonged period of time, will prove to be superior to an exploratory, project-product oriented art curriculum in effecting changes in art abilities as well as several behavior patterns which may be facilitative in improving the school-success-potential for disadvantaged youth.

Procedures

This will be an experimental study to be conducted from September 1966 through August 1968 as follows:

1. Designing and implementing a seventh grade art curriculum specifically for youth living within areas designated as socially and economically disadvantaged.

    a. Leading artists, aestheticians and art historians will be queried regarding their conception of a structure of art. Their responses and information about the psychological and sociological syndrome associated with deprivation will form the basis for making decisions about curriculum content and teaching methodology.

b. A group of 18 art teachers will be selected from schools located in the depressed areas cited above. They will attend a six-week workshop (tentatively scheduled from July 31 to September 8) during the summer of 1967, wherein they shall develop specific art curricula to be utilized in their seventh grade art classes during the 1967-1968 school year.

c. Workshop participants will be asked to develop two plans to be used during alternate semesters in their experimental classes. One will be a listing of the activities and methods they currently employ in their seventh grade classes -- most often an exploratory experience wherein a wide variety of media are used in a series of projects: lettering chart, portrait drawing, figure sketching, block printing, landscape and still-life painting, designing for place mats or book covers, making masks from papier mache or cardboard, carving plaster blocks, building toothpick structures, etc. The other plan will be a listing of activities and methods wherein fewer media will be used over prolonged periods of time, e. g., in a twenty-week semester five weeks will be devoted to the study of clay and the concepts associated with sculpture; five weeks will be devoted to the study of opaque and transparent water color and the concepts associated with painting; five weeks will be devoted to the study of crayon and pen and ink and the concepts associated with drawing; and five weeks will be devoted to the study of three-dimensional paper and wood structures wherein the relationships between material and idea, and form and function, will be stressed.

Procedures (continued)

d. A book, tentatively titled All About Art, written specifically for the disadvantaged, will be developed by the project director with some assistance from workshop participants. It will contain approximately 60 pages and will be profusely illustrated. It will depict the variety of forms found under the heading "visual arts," and will also show examples of Negro and Mexican art, and artists, designers, etc., at work. The book will attempt to provide at least tentative answers to such questions as: What is art? Who makes art? Why is art important to the individual and to society? All About Art will be used by the students in the experimental classes associated with this project.

e. An exhibit of two- and three-dimensional reproductions which will include examples of Negro and Mexican art will be developed and made available to each school engaged in this experiment. Teachers attending the six-week summer workshop will become thoroughly familiar with the content of and rationale for this exhibit, so that it will be put to maximum educational use when brought into experimental classes.

2. Criterion measures, both existing and especially developed for this study, will be administered in a pre-post testing program to identify changes in: abilities to organize space; uses of memory, knowledge of how culture influences behavior; one's articulation of self; attitudes toward school; uses of leisure; reading ability; and the quality of art learnings.

3. Analyses of co-variance and other appropriate multivariate procedures will be applied to match groups, and to estimate changes in both behavior and in the relationships and interactions between and among dependent variables and experimental treatments.

PROGRAM

Gaithersburg, Maryland November 15-19, 1966

Tuesday, November 15

Arrival at Washingtonian Motel and Country Club

5:00 p. m.	Social Hour	
6:30	Dinner	
	Keynote Address:	The Honorable William S. Moorhead, U. S. Congressman from Pennsylvania
	"Reaching the Disadvantaged Learner Through the Arts"	Kathryn Bloom, Director, Arts and Humanities Program, U. S. Office of Education

Wednesday, November 16

9:00 a. m.	Paper:	Dr. Melvin Roman "The Arts as Agents of Social Change: A Psychologist's Viewpoint"
	Questions and Discussion	
10:40 to 12:00	Paper:	Francis Bosworth "The Arts in Neighborhood Life"
2:00 p. m.	Paper:	Dr. Elliot Eisner "Educational Research and the Arts"
	Questions and Discussion	
3:40 to 5:00	Paper:	Julian Euell "Using the Arts in Low-Income Areas"
	Questions and Discussion	

7:30 p.m. to 9:00 Reports on Current Projects - I
Chairman: H. T. Rose
Participants: Patricia Reynolds
Tom Dent
Esther Swanker

Three 20-minute reports followed by half-hour discussion

Thursday, November 17

9:00 a.m. Paper: Dr. Francis A. J. Ianni
"The Arts as Agents for Social Change: An Anthropologist's Viewpoint"

Questions and Discussion

10:40 to 12:00 Paper: Dr. R. Louis Bright
"Educational Technology and the Disadvantaged"

Interim observations by Melvin Tumin, Conference Evaluator

Questions and Discussion

2:00 p.m. Concurrent Work Group Meetings
Chairmen: Edward Mattil
Jerrold Ross

Rapporteurs: Margaret Bingham
Muriel Greenhill

7:30 to 9:30 Reports on Current Projects - II
Chairman: H. T. Rose
Participants: Nina Collier
Theodore Katz

Three 20-minute reports followed by open discussion

Friday, November 18

9:00 a. m.	Paper: Harold Cohen "Learning Stimulation"
	Questions and Discussion
10:45	Work Groups Reconvene
12:30 p. m.	Box Lunches (Work Groups continue to 2:45 p. m.)
3:00 to 5:00	Panel Discussion with Individual Artists Participating Chairman: H. T. Rose Participants: Dorothy Maynor Budd Schulberg Lloyd New Kiva
6:30	Dinner
7:30 to 9:30	Reports on Current Projects - III Chairman: H. T Rose Participants: Noah Purifoy Lucille Krasne Ronald Silverman
	Three 20-minute reports followed by discussion

Saturday, November 19

9:00 a. m. to 11:00	Panel on Federal Resources Chairman: Kathryn Bloom Participants: Harold Howe, II Roger Stevens Barnaby Keeney Phillip Schrager
	(15-minute statements, followed by open discussion)

11:00 a. m.	Free Hour for all Participants (Work Group Chairmen and Recorders Prepare Summaries)
1:30 p. m.	Work Group Reports Chairman: H. T. Rose
2:45	Observations by Conference Evaluator Melvin Tumin
3:15	Concluding Remarks H. T. Rose
3:30	Conference Adjourns

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